

Why Don't Students Talk?

Causes of Foreign Language Communication Apprehension in English Classes: A Comparison of High Apprehensive and Low Apprehensive Upper Secondary Students

Master's Thesis

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Foreword

Foreign language communication apprehension intrigued me for several reasons. On the pedagogic side, as a future English teacher I wish to find ways to design lessons that all kinds of students, both the shy and the social types, can enjoy and benefit from. Foreign language classes are nowadays largely based on social interaction. Participation is required so that spoken fluency can develop. It is, however, all too common to see only a few students volunteer to speak. The rest may stay silent for numerous reasons – they might be just unmotivated, or, as the respondents in this study, apprehensive about speaking the language. Foreign language communication apprehension can slow down or hinder the development of spoken fluency completely. This justifies the need for greater awareness of the causes of foreign language communication apprehension in the class context. With this knowledge, teachers can do their part in lowering the students' anxiety and apprehension and design lessons that also include low-anxiety oral practise as much as possible.

On a more personal level, I used to suffer from a slight communication apprehension in English myself for all the nine years of studying it despite my top grades. I feel that this study is not only a Master's Thesis but at the same time a kind of voyage into my own language learning history and an exploration of the sources of the feelings of shame, anxiety and apprehension that I used to suffer from for nine years whenever I opened my mouth in English. I gained my confidence to speak English through positive experiences abroad after graduating from upper secondary school. My goal as a teacher will be to help students to build this confidence from day one, regardless of their skill level, so that they would not have to leave school not being able to interact in the language they have spent several years learning.

I started my research project in autumn 2008. Two years later, the project has finally come to an end. Several people have helped me along the way. First of all, I wish to thank my supervisors Seppo Tella and Pirjo Harjanne for their support, constructive feedback and patience. I also wish to thank my dear friends and family, whose support and feedback have given me strength to carry on. Their layman's view on the research topic has given me more insight than they probably realize. Most importantly, I wish to

express my deepest gratitude to my parents, who have supported me in every imaginable way both in my university studies and during this research project. None of this would have been possible without their love and support.

On a brisk autumn day in Helsinki, October 2010.

Laura Korpela

1. Introduction

The need to be able to communicate in a foreign language at school, work and in everyday life has increased significantly in the 2000s along with international networking and globalisation. Nowadays the lingua franca of business and industry, for example, is predominantly English (cf. Huhta 1994, 1999; Koskinen 1994). Contemporary foreign language education has, likewise, taken on a *communicative* emphasis. The focus is on developing the student's intercultural knowledge and *communicative competence* (LOPS 2003; POPS 2004). Earlier students could get high grades in exchange for good written performance, but nowadays, poor oral proficiency or inactive participation in classes may lower the student's grades substantially despite good written skills. We could say the skills and confidence to speak English have become an integral part of our social, academic and professional competence. (cf. Sinkkonen 1998; Rubin 2002).

How can learners who are afraid of speaking English cope with these demands? Studies show it is not at all uncommon for learners to experience *foreign language communication apprehension (foreign language CA)* or *foreign language anxiety* – a situational 'fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated [foreign language] communication with another person or persons' (McCroskey 1997b: 82). Even people who are talkative in their native language may become shy, apprehensive and reticent in a foreign language. Besides physical symptoms and negative emotions, foreign language CA can involve a tendency to avoid anxiety-arousing communicative situations (see e.g. Pörhölä 1995: 116; McCroskey 1997b: 100–101; Almonkari 2007: 30). This is problematic, as learners cannot develop a full communicative competence in a foreign language without actively using the language in different situations. Foreign language CA may thus have detrimental effects on academic achievement and performance, and the resulting low oral proficiency may restrict one's future prospects as concerns higher education, career choices and social life in general. (see e.g. Horwitz et al. 1986: 127–128; Aida 1994; McCroskey 1997b: 110; MacIntyre 1999; Stevick 2002.)

The past three decades have seen a number of both international and Finnish studies on foreign language CA and anxiety, showing that the phenomenon has clearly persisted throughout the years (e.g. Horwitz et al. 1986; Manninen 1984; Aitola 1986; Yli-Renko 1991; Koskinen 1995; Kettunen 1998; Cheng et al. 1999; Gregersen & Horwitz 2002; Levine 2003; Nuto 2003; Rodriquez & Abreu 2003; Jung & McCroskey 2004; Casado & Dershiwsky 2001, 2004). For example, in Manninen's (1984) study every sixth (15.5%) university student suffered from severe anxiety about communicating in English. In Yli-Renko's study (1991), a startling 89% of upper secondary school graduates reported a fear of speaking foreign languages, most of them naming the lack of oral practise and positive feedback in foreign language classes as the cause. Koskinen (1995) studied postgraduate students, 23.8% of whom were apprehensive about speaking English. In Kettunen's (1998) study on undergraduate students the number of apprehensive speakers was 18.2%. In a more recent study (Almonkari 2007), 35% of university students had experienced anxiety when speaking a foreign language in classes in the past.

Theory and previous research have demonstrated that the level of foreign language CA can vary greatly depending on the communication context and several situational features. A student may feel at ease when talking English with total strangers outside the classroom, but be highly apprehensive about answering a question in class. This came up in a pilot study, a Bachelor's Thesis (Korpela 2010) conducted between 2008 and 2010. The pilot findings indicated that 14.8% (n = 122) of first-year upper secondary students suffer from communication apprehension in English during EFL¹ classes (Korpela 2010: 28). Additionally, a significant number of upper secondary students (68.9%, n = 122) were more apprehensive about speaking English in classes than in other contexts (Korpela 2010: 30). The reasons remained unclear.

Given that school is where most people gain their first – if not only – experiences of using foreign languages, it is vital that we know why some learners feel apprehensive about speaking a foreign language in classes, and also, which features of the class could cause or increase foreign language CA from the learners' point of view. Focusing on the English language and the students' subjective experiences of communication

¹ EFL = English as a Foreign Language

situations in English, in this study I seek to analyse, first, why upper secondary students experience English language CA in EFL classes. The main question is where the apprehension to speak English stems from in the class context. The second purpose is to find out what are the most anxiety-arousing oral production tasks and activities in EFL classes for upper secondary students, and why. Moreover, what are the situational features that make an oral production task anxiety-arousing?

To address the complex nature of the phenomenon, the data will be collected by means of both questionnaires and theme interviews and analysed using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The analysis will draw on a comparison of the self-reports of highly apprehensive and low apprehensive students of English as a foreign language. I believe this kind of comparison has potential to give further insight into where foreign language CA ultimately stems from.

The ultimate objectives of the present study are to raise teachers' awareness of why students experience CA in foreign language classes as well as to increase their understanding of the features, manifestations, and impacts of foreign language CA. With this understanding, teachers can do their part in designing lessons that include low-anxiety oral practise as much as possible so that students of all kind, including the highly apprehensive, would have equal opportunities to learn to speak the language.

2. Communication Apprehension and Related Concepts

2.1. The Conceptual Framework: An Overview

Communication problems have been widely researched since the 1930s and increasingly from the 1970s onwards. Accordingly, various labels have been used to describe communication problems over the decades. The first studies centred on *stage fright* experienced in public speaking (Clevenger 1959). Then, the research focus gradually shifted to communication problems associated with interpersonal relations, leading to the introduction of a number of interrelated concepts such as *unwillingness to communicate* (Burgoon 1976), *reticence* (Phillips 1965, 1968), *shyness* (e.g. Buss 1980; McCroskey & Richmond 1980), *social anxiety* (e.g. Buss 1980; Leary 1983), *communication reticence* (Burgoon & Hale 1983; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986), and *communication apprehension* (McCroskey 1970), among many others. (cf. McCroskey 1997b: 76–84.)

The multitude of concepts has caused confusion over their usage and meaning. Some scholars make a clear distinction between different concepts, whereas others emphasize their similarities. While every concept refers to communication avoidance of some kind, the conceptual framework remains a puzzle despite a call for clarity. It has also been suggested that all these concepts fall under a general *willingness to communicate* (WTC) trait, which is ‘an individual’s predisposition to initiate communication with others’ (McCroskey 1997b: 77). According to McCroskey (1997b: 77), the WTC trait ‘explains why one person will initiate communication and another will not under virtually identical situational constraints’.

The three most commonly used labels in the field of communication avoidance research have been *shyness*, *reticence* and *communication apprehension*, the last two being the most relevant to the present study. *Shyness* has been defined in a multitude of ways, some of which emphasize internal experience – the discomfort, inhibition and awkwardness in social situations (Buss 1984: 39, quoted in Wadleigh 1997: 3) – while others focus on observable behaviour, or the tendency to be timid and reserved (McCroskey & Richmond 1980, quoted in McCroskey 1997b: 80).

The original conceptualization of *reticence* leaves out emotions completely and refers to observable behaviour only, this being the tendency to avoid communication because of deficient communicative competence (Phillips 1997). Phillips (1997) distinguishes reticence from *communication apprehension* by stressing that reticent speakers are not necessarily anxious or apprehensive about communicating, whereas anxious or apprehensive speakers are not necessarily reticent. The two attributes may still co-exist and possibly cause one another. In Phillips's (1997) view, reticence can be overcome by skills training. The improved speech performance then subdues the negative feelings about communication as well. (Phillips 1997: 129–148.)

Communication apprehension (CA) as understood by McCroskey (1997b) can be viewed as a synthesised concept that represents both internal experiences – emotions, that is – and observable behaviour, or how the anxiety, fear and apprehension about communicating are acted out. It was originally defined as ‘an individual’s level of fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated communication with another person or persons’ (McCroskey 1997b: 82).

Some of the abovementioned concepts were subsequently adapted to second and foreign language acquisition research to describe the specific kind of fear and anxiety linked to communicating in a second or foreign language (L2) that the speaker has learned at school or at another educational institution. This fear or anxiety has been mainly conceptualized as *foreign language communication apprehension* or *foreign language anxiety* (e.g. Horwitz 1986) and seen as a distinct phenomenon from general feelings of anxiety and native language CA. The terminology is not fixed, however, and these two terms have been used interchangeably. The following section outlines the terminology used in this study.

2.2. The Concepts Used in This Study

In this study, the concept of *communication apprehension (CA)* will be used to refer to CA as a general construct and an umbrella term for more specific types of CA. Additionally, since the present study focuses mainly on fear, apprehension or anxiety

associated with communicating in English as a foreign language, a specific *foreign language communication apprehension (foreign language CA)* concept will be used in a more general sense, and yet a more specific *English language communication apprehension (English language CA)* will be used exclusively when talking about the CA experienced by the respondents of this study. The conceptualization of *foreign language communication apprehension* will be adapted from the definition of communication apprehension by McCroskey (1997b: 82) and extended to ‘an individual’s level of fear, apprehension or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated oral foreign language communication² with another person or persons’. Furthermore, the concept of *native language CA* will be used in references to CA experienced in native language communication only.

The concept of CA was selected because of its broad nature: the aim of the present study is not to strictly adhere to any specific school of thought but to adopt a more synthesized approach to the fear, anxiety and nervousness associated with communicating in English as a foreign language. Originally being solely oral in nature, the construct of CA (McCroskey 1970) has subsequently been broadened to include all modes of communication such as reading or writing. The focus of the present study is, nevertheless, restricted to oral communication only.

In this study, the oral nature of CA involves both *speaker apprehension* – anxiety, tension and fear associated with speaking the foreign language – and *receiver apprehension*. The receiver apprehension construct, while being originally defined as “the fear of misinterpreting, inadequately processing and/or not being able to adjust psychologically to messages sent by others” (Wheelless 1997: 152), will be used in a narrower sense here, meaning the anxiety, tension and fear connected to comprehending and ultimately responding to the foreign language input, or to what is said.

Besides CA and its abovementioned derivatives, the term *foreign language anxiety* (Horwitz et al. 1986) will be used, as a large part of the present study builds on foreign language anxiety research. The two terms overlap in many respects and have been used

² *Communication* refers to oral interaction only in the context of this study.

interchangeably. Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986) coined foreign language anxiety as a general construct to involve three aspects: communication apprehension in the target language, fear of negative evaluation, and test anxiety. In this study, the last two aspects are understood as features of communication apprehension. Foreign language anxiety is conceptualized as “a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviours related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process” (Horwitz et al. 1986).

The types of CA shall be examined in more detail in the next section.

2.3. Types of Communication Apprehension

Communication apprehension was originally viewed solely as a personality trait (McCroskey 1997b: 84). Since then, researchers in the field of communication studies have distinguished four types of communication apprehension that can be placed on a continuum ranging from the purely trait-like to the purely state-like CA. The four distinct types on the continuum are trait-like CA, generalized context CA, person-group CA and situational or state-like CA, all of which shall be discussed in detail in the following. (cf. McCroskey 1997b: 84–85.)

The first type, *trait-like CA*, refers to a relatively enduring orientation towards communication that is deeply rooted in personality. A person suffering from trait-like CA will therefore be fearful and anxious across a multitude of communication situations. Despite its relatively stable nature, research into CA has shown that trait-like CA can change over time with systematic treatment. (McCroskey 1997b: 85.)

The second type, *generalized-context CA*, is, likewise, a “relatively enduring, personality-type orientation towards communication” (McCroskey 1997b: 86), but only in a specific type of context or setting. In other words, giving a speech to a large audience may consistently make a person highly apprehensive, but interacting with a small group may cause no CA at all. Generalized-context CA is, therefore, not as broad and persistent as trait-like CA. Constructs such as stage fright (coined by Clevenger 1959), public speaking anxiety (e.g. Ayres & Hopf 1993) or fear of public speaking

(e.g. Richmond & McCroskey 1995) are typical examples of this type of CA. In their early work, McCroskey and Richmond (1980) distinguished four types of contexts that most commonly have anxiety-provoking qualities: public speaking, meetings or classes, small group discussions, and dyadic one-to-one interactions. Research shows it is not uncommon for generalized-context CA measures to correlate with high scores on trait-like CA measures. (McCroskey 1997b: 86.)

The third type, *person-group CA*, is connected to who is present in the communication situation: some people may be highly apprehensive about communicating with strangers, whereas others may feel the same around a group of peers. McCroskey (1997b: 86) defines person-group CA as a “relatively enduring orientation towards communication with a given person or group”. This type of CA is more typically triggered by the situational constraints generated by the other person or group than by the personality of the individual. At the beginning of an acquaintance, personality-based orientations may have dominance over situational constraints, but later on the situational constraints are expected to overcome personal orientations (Richmond 1978). Despite its relatively stable nature, person-group CA may diminish or increase over time if the behaviour of the other person or group changes. (McCroskey 1997b: 86–87.)

The last type, *situational CA*, is the most state-like of the four types of CA, defined by McCroskey (1997b: 87) as a “transitory orientation toward communication with a given person or group of people”. Like person-group CA, situational CA is viewed as a response to situational constraints created by the other person, a group, and in foreign language classes, the features of an oral production task³. However, the level of this type of CA is expected to alter to a great extent as a result of fluctuating situational constraints. A person may, therefore, experience situational CA with a given person or group at one time but not at another time. Researchers expect a high level of person-group CA to be related to high level of situational CA. (McCroskey 1997b: 87.)

³ In this study I will use the term *oral production task* to refer to any task that requires oral output, i.e. speaking, from the learner.

It should be noted that these different types of CA do not necessarily represent different types of people. Instead, one person may suffer from both situational CA and trait-like CA. Accordingly, McCroskey (1997b: 84) points out that human behaviour never emanates from either personal traits or situational constraints alone but rather from the powerful interaction of these two sources.

McCroskey and Beatty (1998: 217) also point out that situational CA and other types of state-like CA can simply be manifestations of trait-like CA and other traits of the individual. Traits and temperament regulate how a person behaves in communication situations (cf. Keltikangas-Järvinen 2004), and what has been interpreted as situational CA may solely be trait-guided responses to various situational aspects – in other words, these assumedly situational responses may be the product of trait-like predispositions to perceive communication situations differently. (cf. Beatty & McCroskey 1998; Jung & McCroskey 2004; McCroskey 2005.)

Foreign language CA may fall under any of these four CA categories. As for the first one, a person suffering from trait-like CA tends to feel apprehensive in a wide range of communication situations, to which EFL classes and foreign language communication would make no exception.

As for generalized-context CA, foreign language classes basically incorporate all of the four most anxiety-provoking settings suggested by McCroskey and Richmond (1980). Foreign language classes typically involve group discussions, dyadic interaction and public speaking, so long as speaking aloud, responding to the teacher's questions, and occasional presentations and speeches in front of other students can be viewed as an example. On this account, foreign language classes have all the potential to induce generalized-context CA.

When it comes to person-group CA, the social nature of foreign language classes may make some students apprehensive. In the foreign language class the student is always surrounded by a more or less familiar group of peers and a teacher, an authority figure with the right to evaluate and appraise the student's oral performance. These situational constraints, together with different types of oral production tasks, can also increase situational CA. Research has, likewise, shown that foreign language CA is highly

dependent on situational constraints and the apprehension level can vary greatly across different tasks. A student may feel highly apprehensive about one oral production task but not another. (e.g. Manninen 1984: 89–96; Nuto 2003: 48–49.) (See section 2.5.9. for more on the influence of situational constraints.)

All in all, foreign language communication apprehension is a multifaceted phenomenon that may emanate from either personality traits or situational constraints, or from the interaction of these two. It should be noted that the aim of the present study is not to discern which type of CA – trait or state – the respondents are suffering from in foreign language classes, but instead, to analyse why students experience foreign language CA during EFL classes, be it trait-like or state-like. This categorization does, however, provide a good starting point for a further inquiry into the features, impacts, correlates and causes of CA in the following sections.

2.4. Features and Possible Impacts of Foreign Language Communication Apprehension

Foreign language CA is a specific kind of fear, anxiety and apprehension linked to communicating in a foreign language that a person does not fully master. According to researchers, foreign language CA is a many-sided phenomenon made of behavioural, cognitive and physical features. These can occur simultaneously, affect one another as well as have detrimental impacts on learning and academic achievement.

As for behavioural and cognitive features, apprehensive foreign language speakers typically feel anxious, apprehensive and nervous and may appear more silent and reticent than in native language communication. It is widely held that foreign language CA is closely related to a person's *willingness to communicate (WTC)* (cf. Koskinen 1995; McCroskey 1997b: 81–82; Nuto 2003: 38–39), a situational or trait-like predisposition to initiate communication with others (McCroskey 1997b: 77). Accordingly, apprehensive students may be utterly unwilling to communicate in the foreign language. This can manifest itself, for example, via *reticence* or *communication avoidance*. Even though CA is primarily a cognitive phenomenon, it is not uncommon for apprehensive speakers to appear reticent in communication situations that arouse

anxiety or avoid these situations altogether (McCroskey 1997b: 100–101). Phillips (1997: 135) points out that reticent people feel they gain more by remaining silent, because speaking causes unpleasant feelings. In foreign language classes apprehensive students may, for example, restrain from participation by not volunteering to speak or by selecting seats in the back row so that the teacher will pay less attention to them (Phillips 1991). They may also skip classes when they are supposed to give a presentation or a speech. Communication avoidance of this kind is, overall, a common coping mechanism for people who suffer from CA, stage fright or a related phenomenon (cf. McCroskey 1997b: 101). (partly adopted from Korpela 2010: 8–9.)

Foreign language CA is also closely tied to *fear of negative evaluation* and *fear of errors*. According to Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986: 128), it is typical for anxious foreign language speakers to feel like they were under constant negative evaluation in communication situations. They also tend to set unrealistic demands on their oral performance and be afraid of making errors of any kind (Horwitz et al. 1986: 127–128; see also MacIntyre et al. 1998b; Gregersen & Horwitz 2002: 567; Nuto 2003: 43–44, 73–76). Errors are inevitable, however, since students are expected to speak the foreign language well before fluency is attained – and the learning process is essentially characterized by trial and error (cf. Harjanne 2006, 2007).

Foreign language CA may also cause disruptions to the students' oral performance. Studies show that CA takes up cognitive capacity and can produce *cognitive overload* (Leary & Kowalski 1995: 134–136), due to which apprehensive students may stutter, forget or mix up words, make more errors than usual, and generally speak worse target language than in low-anxiety situations. As a consequence, they might feel even more apprehensive about speaking in similar situations in the future. (Manninen 1984; Horwitz et al. 1986: 126–127; Nuto 2003: 40–43.)

Besides communication avoidance, fear of errors and cognitive overload, foreign language CA can also cause physical symptoms such as an increased heart rate, trembling hands, butterflies in the stomach, sweating and dizziness. Physiological activation itself is not a sign of communication apprehension; what matters is how the speaker interprets these symptoms (Leary & Kowalski 1995: 128–129; Pörhölä 1995; Almonkari 2007: 30). Researchers believe these interpretations are based on earlier

experiences of similar communication situations and trait-like predispositions to communication. A rapid pulse may, therefore, signify either excitement and enthusiasm or apprehension and fear, depending on whether the speaker typically views his or her communicative abilities in a positive or negative light. Physiological activation may even increase CA if the speaker views it as a sign of insecurity and anxiety. (Pörhölä 1995: 116; Hardy, Jones & Gould 1996: 63–66, 141–143; Almonkari 2007: 30.)

According to researchers, foreign language CA may have debilitating impacts on learning and academic achievement. Reticent, apprehensive students who fear errors and hardly ever speak lose the opportunity to improve their foreign language skills or gain more confidence from positive feedback and successful communication situations. A fear of errors can be especially harmful. Foreign language CA together with a fear of errors can seriously hinder the learning of spoken language as students can only avoid errors by remaining silent. (cf. Horwitz et al. 1986: 127–128.) The teacher may further regard that the silent student is lacking motivation or skills and lower his or her grades as a result. (cf. Horwitz 2001.)

Foreign language CA may also interfere directly with cognition. Research shows that cognitive overload can slow down the processing and retrieval of information or hinder it altogether (cf. Aida 1994; Saito 1996; McCroskey 1997b: 110; MacIntyre 1999; Stevick 2002). In Stephen D. Krashen's (1982) terms, foreign language CA can act as an affective filter that makes the learner unreceptive to language input. The filter turns on when anxiety is high and self-esteem is low. Consequently, the student fails to take in what is taught and retrieve the proficiency⁴ she or he has already acquired. (Krashen 1982.) The resulting poor oral performance in class may, once again, affect the teacher's grading and evaluation. As McCroskey (1997b: 103) summarizes, "not only do people try to avoid studying things that cause them discomfort, but such discomfort may inhibit their learning when they do study it".

⁴ In this study I will use the term (*oral*) *proficiency* to refer to the learner's ability to use the foreign language with the skills and knowledge he or she has learned or acquired.

2.5. Correlates and Potential Causes of Foreign Language Communication Apprehension

The causes of communication apprehension, both in the native language and in a foreign language, have been subject to much speculation but little solid research. This is because carefully controlled experimentation, the most suitable method of isolating causes of subsequent events, has been out of question due to ethical reasons. Consequently, most research on the causes of native language CA and foreign language CA has been conducted in naturalistic environments. This type of research is suitable for establishing correlations but not for inferring causality of any kind. Most of the writing on the causes is, therefore, based on speculation, hypotheses and self-reports. (McCroskey 1997b: 91.)

2.5.1. The Aetiology of Communication Apprehension: An Overview

Theory on the aetiology of native language CA has mainly centred on either *heredity* or *environment* – we can either be born with genetic predispositions to CA or we can learn it (McCroskey 1997b: 91). The learning has been suggested to take place via *reinforcement*, *modelling*, *skills acquisition* or *expectancy learning* leading to *learned helplessness* or *learned responsiveness* (McCroskey 1997b: 91–96). In addition, researchers (Buss 1980; Daly and Hailey 1980) have outlined several *situational features* that can increase situational CA.

Besides the aforementioned potential causes of native language CA, researchers have suggested several correlates and potential sources for foreign language CA in particular. Foreign language CA has been found to correlate significantly with *self-assessed language proficiency*, *native language CA* and overall *willingness to communicate* (e.g. Manninen 1984; Koskinen 1995; Kettunen 1998; MacIntyre et al. 1998a, 2002; Jung & McCroskey 2004). Several situational features, gender, age, earlier experiences and feedback, fear or errors, and cultural communication norms may also have a part to play. Most of these can be classified under the aforementioned two causes, heredity or environment.

The next subsections will present the correlates and potential causes of native language CA and foreign language CA. Despite the fact that researchers (cf. Horwitz et al. 1986) distinguish foreign language CA from native language CA and general feelings of anxiety, the potential causes of native language CA – heredity and environment – can account for foreign language CA as well. Thus, the two are examined together. We will start with heredity, and then move on to environmental and situational features as well as to the causes and correlates of foreign language CA in particular. Many of these are likely to come up in one way or another in the data of the present study.

2.5.2. Genetic Predisposition

Genetic predisposition or heredity is by no means seen as the only cause of CA, nor has the notion of a genetic origin of CA been without its critics. However, the work of social biologists has given some researchers (e.g. Beatty & McCroskey 1998; Jung & McCroskey 2004; McCroskey 2005) enough reason to believe there may well be a genetic contribution to CA. Research on identical twins has shown that babies differ significantly in how they reach out to the social environment and respond to contact with other people, for example. (McCroskey 1997b: 91.) The work of psychologists on temperamental differences gives further insight into this (see e.g. Keltikangas-Järvinen 2004).

As McCroskey (1997b: 92) explains it, children are born with certain personality predispositions or tendencies. On one hand, these tendencies can change over time as the child interacts with the social and physical environment. On the other hand, these tendencies also regulate how different children react to similar environmental conditions. As McCroskey (1997b: 92) puts it, the interaction of genetic predispositions and environmental conditions, therefore, shape the child's development, including the development of adult tendencies such as trait-like CA, or foreign language CA, for that matter.

We must bear in mind, however, that research has not actually looked into the genetic roots of CA but related tendencies such as sociability (McCroskey 1997b: 91). Thus, a

genetic predisposition to native language CA or foreign language CA is unproven, albeit plausible.

2.5.3. Reinforcement and Modelling

While there may well be a genetic contribution to native language CA and foreign language CA, so far the most feasible explanations for native language CA have centred on reinforcement and modelling. These explanations might also account for foreign language CA. However, they are inadequate in the sense that they only focus on behavioural aspects.

In the most behaviouristic sense, children who are reinforced for communicating will communicate more, and children who are not reinforced for communicating, will communicate less. In other words, children who find that their attempts to communicate are met with a negative response will quickly learn that they gain more by remaining silent and avoiding communication. (McCroskey 1997b: 92; see also Phillips 1997: 135.)

Reinforcement can also take place via modelling. It is widely held that children learn various verbal and non-verbal behaviours, including accents and dialects, by observing and imitating the communication behaviour of others (cf. McCroskey 1997b: 92–93). As for CA, some scholars believe that children who have adequate communication models and who are rewarded for imitating these models generally develop low CA levels (McCroskey 1997b: 92). This view finds support in Bandura's (1977) social learning theory, which suggests that along with behavioural patterns, also attitudes and emotional responses can be learned through modelling.

McCroskey (1997b: 93) points out that the views of reinforcement and modelling as causes of CA focus on behavioural patterns only and ignore the cognitive and emotional aspects of CA completely. With CA being a cognitive variable, neither reinforcement nor modelling do not fully account for the development of CA, even though CA does involve behavioural outcomes such as communication avoidance or

reticence. The cognitive side of CA is recognized in McCroskey's (1997b) theory of expectancy learning, which will be discussed in the following subsection.

2.5.4. Expectancy Learning: Experiences and Feedback

Taking on broader approach to CA, McCroskey's (1997b: 93–96) theory of expectancy learning and learned helplessness as causes of CA is strongly related to the reinforcement and modelling view, with the addition of a cognitive aspect. The key elements in this theory are positive and negative outcome expectations that regulate our behaviour and emotional responses. Since outcome expectations play a part in foreign language communication as well, this theory can also be applied to foreign language CA.

According to McCroskey (1997b: 94–95), people develop expectations regarding the likely outcomes of various trait-guided and learned communication behaviours across situations. If the behaviour we engage in regularly emanates positive feedback and success, we develop positive expectations for those behaviours in a given situation and make them a part of our communicative repertoire. In contrast, if some communication behaviours regularly prompt negative feedback or a lack of reward, we tend to reduce or avoid those behaviours in the future. If we end up in a communication situation where no positive outcome is expected, we tend to avoid or withdraw from participation. If avoidance or withdrawal is impossible, the situation then most likely makes us feel anxious or apprehensive. The complete lack of outcome expectations, either positive or negative, is believed to cause helplessness, which can be either spontaneous and short-lived or learned and enduring. (McCroskey 1997b: 94–95.)

McCroskey (1997b: 96) believes that learned helplessness and learned negative outcome expectations are at the core of both trait-like and state-like CA. Applied to foreign language CA, if one's attempts to communicate in a foreign language regularly fail in one way or another, one will develop *negative outcome expectations* and eventually start to avoid communication in the foreign language altogether. Research on foreign language CA supports this theory: the apprehensive speakers in Nuto's (2003) study, for example, held very negative beliefs about their communicative

abilities and believed that all their attempts to communicate in the foreign language could result in a complete failure. Thus, they avoided situations where they had to speak the foreign language.

In contrast, positive experiences can decrease foreign language CA. Sufumi So (2005) conducted longitudinal research on a female adult language learner, a Spanish immigrant in the US, who suffered from severe English language CA. She gradually overcame the CA by getting involved in successful communication situations where she had to speak English with both non-native and native speakers and also translate for other immigrants.

Apprehensive students have generally named prior experiences and feedback – or the complete lack of both – as one of the main sources for their CA and anxiety (e.g. Manninen 1984: 80; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 165; Yli-Renko 1991; Nuto 2003: 87; Almonkari 2007; see also Lehtonen et al. 1985: 53–55). On this account, the type of feedback, prior experiences of language using and outcome expectations are very likely to come up in the data of the present study.

2.5.5. Self-Assessed Foreign Language Proficiency

Low self-assessed foreign language proficiency has been found to correlate significantly with severe foreign language CA among Finnish students: the lower the self-assessed proficiency, the higher the level of CA (Manninen 1984; Koskinen 1995; Kettunen 1998; Nuto 2003; Korpela 2010). In the pilot study, this correlation was statistically very significant ($r = -.617$, $p < 0.01$) (Korpela 2010: 33). This relationship could be explained by the fact that a speaker with low self-assessed proficiency is likely to have a history of negative communicative experiences in the foreign language. In addition, low self-assessed proficiency contributes to negative outcome expectations. Anxiety and apprehension develop if the speaker evaluates that he or she cannot successfully meet the demands of the communicative situation with the language skills he or she possesses (Lehtonen et al. 1985: 53–55; Horwitz et al. 1986; MacIntyre et al. 1998: 549; Nuto 2003: 86).

Low self-assessed foreign language proficiency can also cause distress for those who are normally sociable and talkative in the native language. Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986: 128) call this the “discrepancy between the ‘true self’ and the ‘limited self’”, the latter being the foreign language speaker. According to Leary and Kowalski’s self-presentational theory of social anxiety (1995: 19–23), the individual generally wants to present him or herself in a socially acceptable and desirable way. He or she knows how to accomplish this in the native language. Fluent and competent communication becomes problematic, however, when the speaker has to use a limited range of linguistic capacity to formulate his or her message. Humour, irony and other personal flavours may be almost impossible to convey. Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986: 128) argue that any foreign language communication can challenge the individual’s self-concept as a competent communicator, especially if the proficiency is low. In their view, this discrepancy between the ‘true self’ and the ‘limited self’ is very likely to cause reticence, self-consciousness, fear, or even panic. (Horwitz et al. 1986: 128.)

It should be noted that the self-assessed foreign language proficiency is a subjective perception and connected to self-set standards and demands for oral performance. If the speaker has set unrealistically high demands for his or her speaking, he or she might view any hesitation or minor errors as serious skill deficits. Furthermore, the link between proficiency and foreign language CA is not always clear-cut, as even foreign language teachers and top grade, perfectionist students have been found to suffer from severe CA regardless of their high self-assessed proficiency (Horwitz 1996; Gregersen & Horwitz 2002). The explanation could be the fact that like most students with high foreign language CA, also perfectionist students are known to set unrealistically high demands on their oral performance, view minor mistakes as a complete failure and be highly apprehensive about negative evaluation. (Horwitz et al. 1986: 127–128; Gregersen & Horwitz 2002: 568; see also Nuto 2003: 43–44.)

Where do these unrealistic demands derive from? Perfectionist personality may be one source, while foreign language teaching may be another. Research indicates foreign language teaching can be held partly responsible for insufficient oral practise, unrealistic demands for oral performance and the negative outcome expectations that can cause anxiety and discomfort. The impact of foreign language teaching on CA will be explored further in the following section.

2.5.6. Foreign Language Classes: Feedback, Oral Practise and Demands

Studies have indicated that the fear or confidence to speak a foreign language, together with unrealistic demands for oral performance, can also derive from foreign language classes. Considering that the foreign language class is where most students gain their first experiences of using the language, it is reasonable that the feedback and communicative experiences gained during classes play a vital role in shaping the students' attitudes and emotions towards the foreign language and its use. (cf. Korpela 2010: 14.)

In Finland, the influence of foreign language teaching on CA has been recognized for decades. This connection is particularly clear in a study by Kaarina Yli-Renko (1991), where a striking 89% (n=236) of Finnish upper secondary school graduates reported a fear of speaking foreign languages (Yli-Renko 1991: 47, 60). Most of them regarded that this was due to foreign language teaching in schools. As the main reasons they saw, for example, an excessive emphasis on grammar and structures, the lack of authentic oral exercise, teacher-centeredness, the formal question-answer interaction between the students and the teacher, and the Finnish matriculation examination that merely evaluates written language skills (Yli-Renko 1991: 65). Additionally, 55% of them considered that upper secondary foreign language education fails to provide them with sufficient oral skills (Yli-Renko 1991: 44). It seems that at the time when Yli-Renko conducted her research, the main emphasis of foreign language education was on learning the grammatical rules and structures, not on improving the student's oral skills. The respondents in Yli-Renko's study stated that since teaching is so grammar-centred, students try to speak flawlessly – and those who are not able to do this, remain silent (Yli-Renko 1991: 55). (cf. Korpela 2010: 14–15.)

Several studies (e.g. Manninen 1984; Price 1991; Salo-Lee 1991; Tsui 1996; Nuto 2003) support Yli-Renko's (1991) findings. Manninen (1984) has found that negative experiences and recollections from school correlate significantly with high foreign language CA. Nuto (2003: 65–72) has also found that negative school experiences together with the lack of positive feedback and oral practise in classes contribute to high foreign language CA. Likewise, Price (1991: 106) and Tsui (1996: 151) argue that

foreign language CA together with a fear of evaluation, a fear of mistakes and unrealistic demands for oral performance can be teacher-induced.

Salo-Lee (1991: 14, 17–18), in turn, has noticed that at the time of her research, the oral output of Finnish foreign language learners incorporated features more characteristic of written than spoken language. Students aimed at producing sentences which were grammatically flawless but which almost entirely lacked pragmatic expressions and other unique elements of fluent oral discourse. Salo-Lee (1991) saw that the main causes for this were grammar-centeredness and question-answer interaction in classes, the same as in Yli-Renko's (1991) study. In addition, Salo-Lee (1991) noted that the teachers in her study tended to set unrealistic demands on the students' oral performance: they evaluated the students' oral performance according to norms for written language, even though the norms guiding spoken language are essentially different (see also Harjanne 2006: 28–29). Feedback that centres mainly on deviations from form may convey the message that one should always speak perfect, errorless language.

Tiittula (1992a) has pointed out accordingly that foreign language classes can convey a false model of spoken fluency to the students: she argues that the textbook dialogues, for example, lack several essential features of spoken language, including breaks, repetition, hesitation, self-correction, fillers (“like”, “umm”), discourse particles (“well”, “you know”) and paraphrases (see also Bygate 2001: 17). What would seem like a mistake or a sign of insufficient proficiency in written language can have essential functions in spoken interaction (Tiittula 1992a: 5, 1992b: 68–81; Bygate 2001: 17; Harjanne 2006: 28). A speaker may pause mid-sentence, start again and formulate the message in a different way in order to add emphasis or to clarify the point, for example. Contrary to written language, the focus in spoken language is not on grammatical correctness but on conveying meanings in dynamic interaction, even though correct grammar does contribute to fluency to some extent. (Tiittula 1992a, 1992b.) According to contemporary theories about foreign language learning, in order to develop spoken fluency the students need communicative tasks and authentic models for communication instead of mere textbook dialogues and question-answer interaction (cf. Tiittula 1992a; Yli-Renko 1991; Bygate 2001; Harjanne 2006, 2007).

Interestingly, Yli-Renko's, Salo-Lee's and Tiittula's findings from the 1990s are supported by quite recent Finnish studies on the methodological reality of foreign language classrooms. For example, in a study on the methodology of an EFL class in secondary school grade 7, Alanen (2000) found that linguistic structures were usually taught separately from meaning and functions. In Jalkanen and Ruuska's (2007) study, young learners of English reckoned that EFL classes were mainly about doing written exercises and listening to and reading the textbook chapters, and very seldom about using the language in real communication. Hinkkanen and Säde (2003) found likewise that authentic English communication was rare in classes: the target language was used only for a few minutes on each lesson. The studies indicate that foreign language teaching is still largely focused on teacher-centred learning of grammatical structures and separate word lists, and not on learning how the language functions in authentic communication. (cf. Harjanne & Tella 2009: 146–147.)

In sum, previous research indicates that foreign language CA as well as a fear of evaluation, unrealistic demands for oral performance and negative outcome expectations can all derive from school experiences. The teacher and the teaching methods play a key role in defining whether these experiences will increase or decrease CA. The present study findings will most likely give us more insight into this issue.

2.5.7. Gender, Age and Native Language Communication Apprehension

Research has also looked into how gender, age and the level of native language CA relate to foreign language CA. So far, the findings have been controversial (cf. Manninen 1984; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986; Koskinen 1995; MacIntyre et al. 2002; Almonkari 2007; Korpela 2010). As for gender, the females in Sallinen-Kuparinen's (1986) study reported more native language CA than males, who also perceived themselves more verbally adept (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 154). There were no significant differences between genders with regard to the incidence of shyness, communicative initiative or willingness to communicate (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 155). Jaasma (1997: 224) has presented similar findings on American female students, who reported higher native language CA than males. High CA correlated significantly with fear of peer evaluation, low self-assessed language proficiency and low self-

esteem (Jaasma 1997). As for foreign language CA, Koskinen's (1995) and Almonkari's (2007: 99–100) studies have indicated that foreign language CA is a bit more common among female university students. Manninen (1984), in contrast, found no statistically significant relationship between gender and foreign language CA. The pilot study (Korpela 2010: 31–32) was in line with Manninen's early findings: the correlation between gender and foreign language CA was not statistically significant.

The connection between age and CA remains unclear as well. Some studies indicate that the confidence to speak a foreign language increases along with age (e.g. MacIntyre et al. 2002) while some studies (e.g. Koskinen 1995: 83) imply that foreign language CA is more common among older university students. There has, likewise, been much controversy over the relationship of native language CA and foreign language CA. Horwitz (1986), for example, asserts that the two are fundamentally distinct phenomena. This view is supported by her findings on highly anxious foreign language speakers who report no anxiety at all in native language communication situations (Horwitz 1986; see also e.g. Nuto 2003: 64). Some findings, on the other hand, demonstrate a clear connection between foreign language CA and native language CA (Koskinen 1995; Jung & McCroskey 2004; Almonkari 2007). In Almonkari's (2007) study, the university students who were afraid to speak a foreign language also suffered from stage fright and felt apprehensive during native language speech classes, in seminar presentations, and while asking or answering a question during lectures (Almonkari 2007: 84–85).

All in all, foreign language CA can be as much a distinct phenomenon as a component of native language CA. This will be taken account when analysing the data in the present study. Likewise, gender and age do not seem to have a clear influence on either native language CA or foreign language CA. Nevertheless, both have to be taken into account when analysing the results of the present study, as most respondents were females aged from 16 to 18, an age generally characterized by an increased self-awareness and self-criticism.

2.5.8. Cultural Communication Norms: The Silent Finn Stereotype

Besides heredity, learning, self-assessed language proficiency, teaching, gender, age, self-esteem and other emotional factors, scholars have also considered how cultural communication norms could contribute to stage fright, shyness, reticence, CA and related phenomena. Cultures have different communication norms regarding, for example, word choices, appropriate topics for each context, intonation, speech rate, word and sentence stress, gestures, physical proximity and distance, ways of expressing hesitation, the length and regulation of pauses, and the tolerance and functions of silence (cf. Paananen-Porkka 2007: 77; Tiittula 1992a: 6; Yli-Renko 1993: 16–18.) Culture regulates the communication behaviour of individuals. Accordingly, it has been suggested that the attempts to apply native language communication norms when speaking a foreign language may cause intercultural conflicts, which could contribute to feelings of discomfort, anxiety and apprehension (e.g. Lehtonen 1994: 90).

According to Hall's (1976) classic categorization, Finnish communication norms have been said to resemble those of a high-context culture. Finns have traditionally been regarded as listener-centred, reticent communicators who tolerate long pauses, place high value on the quality rather than the quantity of speech, avoid conflicts and seek harmony, engage in long monologues and feel disturbed by interruptions and excessive feedback. Finnish communication has been characterized as indirect and reserved, while in low-context cultures most information is explicitly stated, thought processes are verbalised, emotions are explicitly expressed and speaking per se is highly valued. (Lehtonen & Sajavaara 1985; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 26–28, 180–190; Tiittula 1994: 97; Tella 1996; Pörhölä 2000: 22.) Studies show that Finnish learners indeed seem to apply Finnish communication norms when they are speaking English (Salo-Lee 1991; Yli-Renko 1989, 1991; Lehtonen 1994; Paananen-Porkka 2007). According to Lehtonen (1994), this can create conflicts as Anglo-American communication builds on entirely different norms – those of a low-context culture.

Can reticence, stage fright and CA be cultural characteristics, then? Sallinen-Kuparinen (1986) studied Finnish communication reticence in the 1980s and found that Finns typically had a rather low communicator image of themselves at the time of the research: 78% (n=1094) of the respondents regarded their oral skills as average or

worse (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 84, 182). Social anxiety and stage fright were also common: about 70% of the 1094 respondents reported either a moderate or a high level of stage fright (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 145). At the time of the research Finns generally felt anxious about public speaking and were concerned about the impression they make on the listeners (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 181–182). All in all, 16% of Finns were classified as high communication reticent (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 191). Cross-cultural comparisons show, however, that these numbers are not exceptional: the frequency of reticence and CA in population has been more or less the same in other cultural contexts, including low-context cultures (Klopf 1997: 274).

It must be noted that over two decades have passed since Sallinen-Kuparinen's (1986) study. Accordingly, Salo-Lee (2007) points out that the 'Silent Finn' stereotype is no longer valid – actually, it is debatable if it ever has been (cf. Tiittula 1994). Tiittula (1994) asserts that the picture of reticent Finns who prefer monologue to dialogue and cannot engage in small talk nor give feedback has been far too simplified. Discourse analysis has shown that feedback and backchannel signals are not lacking at all, for example. Finns also interrupt each other and talk simultaneously. (Tiittula 1994: 99–100.) Sallinen (2000: 8–9) suggests that today's Finns also evaluate their communication skills more positively than two decades ago. Scholars argue that Finnish communication culture has, indeed, come to involve many low-context characteristics: especially younger Finns frequently use 'small talk', address each other with first names, interrupt each other, and pose questions while the other one is speaking (Nishimura et al. 2008).

In conclusion, there is no reason to assume that foreign language CA has its sole origins in cultural communication norms, given the fact that at the same time as Finnish communication norms have changed, the number of Finnish students suffering from foreign language CA has not diminished (cf. Koskinen 1995; Kettunen 1998; Nuto 2003; Almonkari 2007). Nevertheless, culture does influence the individual's behaviour and reactions in different communication situations, EFL classes included, and therefore, Finnish communication norms and the outdated 'Silent Finn' stereotype will be taken into account in the present study if the interviewees bring them up.

2.5.9. Situational Features

Lastly, to explain why individuals fear speaking in one situation and not another, researchers have outlined several situational features that are likely to increase feelings of anxiety and apprehension in both native language and foreign language communication contexts. These include novelty, formality, unfamiliarity, prior negative experiences, subordinate status, conspicuousness, dissimilarity, size of audience, degree of evaluation and degree of attention from others (Buss 1980; Daly & Hailey 1980). In other words, an individual is more likely to feel anxious about communicating if the situation has a formal feeling to it and if it involves being in the spotlight, under evaluation, and talking to someone superior or to someone with better language skills (e.g. Buss 1980; Manninen 1984: 89–96; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 161–166; Koskinen 1995: 90). As for the size of audience, research findings show that a large number of listeners is likely to increase apprehension and anxiety, at least in native language communication contexts (e.g. Buss 1980; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 162). Prior history matters as well: anxiety and apprehension together with negative outcome expectations tend to increase if the speaker has no prior experiences of the communication situation or if these experiences are mainly negative (see section 2.5.3.). The respondents in earlier studies have also named a tense and oppressive class atmosphere as something that increases their apprehension about speaking the foreign language (e.g. Manninen 1984; Yli-Renko 1991; Nuto 2003).

Foreign language classes and certain oral production tasks such as presentations incorporate many of these anxiety-arousing situational features. Answering a question, for example, requires drawing attention to oneself and being subject to evaluation by peers and an authority figure, the teacher (cf. Tsui 1996: 158). Research has shown that Finnish students generally feel anxious about answering or asking a question during classes or lectures (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 95; Almonkari 2007: 81). In Sallinen-Kuparinen's (1986: 118) study this caused anxiety for more than every third respondent (33.3%, $n = 1094$).

The class as a whole can be a highly anxiety-arousing, somewhat formal communication context where evaluation is always present and a complete withdrawal from communication is almost impossible (cf. Breen 1985). Foreign language classes

and contemporary teaching methods like communicative language teaching rely heavily on social interaction (see also section 3.). One cannot avoid speeches, presentations, group and pair discussions and other communicative tasks. Finnish students have named all of these as the most anxiety-arousing situations at school or university: for example, a striking 89% of university students have reported feelings of apprehension and anxiety in seminar presentations (Almonkari 2007: 81; see also Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 116).

In addition to analysing why upper secondary students experience foreign language CA in the class context, the present study seeks to determine which oral production tasks upper secondary students deem the most anxiety-arousing and why. The situational features presented in this section will be used as a starting point for the analysis. Besides, the CEFR (2001) enlists a number of features affecting task difficulty that may also be helpful in the analysis. These features will be presented further in section 3.

2.6. Summarizing the Theory on Foreign Language Communication Apprehension

The previous sections have presented the features, impacts, correlates and potential causes of foreign language CA. Before moving on, I will briefly sum up what has been covered so far.

Foreign language CA manifests itself behaviourally, cognitively and/or physically. The key feature is negative emotional activation: individuals with high foreign language CA typically feel anxious, apprehensive and nervous when speaking the language. They may also appear more silent and reticent than in native language communication or be utterly unwilling to engage in communication. Apprehensive speakers also tend to compare themselves to their peers and assume that others evaluate them negatively, especially in the class context. As a result of emotional activation, foreign language CA may also cause cognitive overload with the result that apprehensive speakers stutter, mix up words and generally speak worse target language than in low anxiety situations. Physical symptoms such as trembling, rapid pulse or sweating are also common. Research has indicated that foreign language CA can seriously hamper the learning of

oral skills and thus have harmful effects on academic achievement. Poor oral skills may further restrict the individual's career choices and social networking.

Foreign language CA can emanate from personality traits or from numerous situational constraints, or from the interaction of these two. The impacts of age, gender and cultural background on foreign language CA have remained unclear. Several studies show, however, that negative prior experiences, the lack of positive feedback and inadequate self-assessed foreign language proficiency contribute significantly to foreign language CA and expectations of failure. Foreign language CA can also stem from the discrepancy between self-assessed foreign language proficiency and the demands of the communication situation. All in all, foreign language CA is not a single construct but composed of various beliefs, self-perceptions, behaviours and emotions related to language learning and its use.

As for the role of social interaction in the emergence of CA, Toskala (2001: 111–115) has presented a model of social anxiety that could offer some insight into foreign language CA as well and be particularly useful for the data analysis. Toskala's (2001) model suggests that low self-esteem and negative self-concept form the core of social anxiety. Toskala (2001) argues that the key element in social anxiety is the discrepancy between the urge to succeed in a social situation, like foreign language interaction, and the fear of failure. If the communication situation involves conspicuousness and a great degree of attention from others, the possibility of failure and anxiety increase. Then, if the individual somehow fails, this causes confusion, shame and extensive self-criticism. At the same time, the individual is preoccupied with others' judgements: he or she fears that the confusion and anxiety will show and that everyone will evaluate him or her negatively. According to Toskala (2001), individuals suffering from social anxiety are highly susceptible to any kind of evaluation and have difficulties taking in positive feedback for their performance. (Toskala 2001: 111–115.)

Researchers assert that school experiences are central to the development of CA as the foreign language class is the primary social context where people practise and develop their oral skills. Besides, considering that foreign language classes involve numerous potentially anxiety-arousing situational features, it is eminent that the class context has great potential to evoke feelings of apprehension and anxiety that the learners just have

to cope with, as complete avoidance of communication is impossible. This is one of the reasons why I have chosen to focus exclusively on the class context in the present study. Feelings and experiences of foreign language communication outside the classes will be explored only insofar as they help to understand the learner's feelings and experiences in the classes.

With respect to the high anxiety-arousing potential of foreign language classes, it is crucial to understand what increases and causes foreign language CA in the classes from the learners' point of view. With this understanding, teachers can create better learning environments for apprehensive students and design lessons that involve low-anxiety oral practise as much as possible. Furthermore, teachers can do their part in preventing foreign language CA from developing as a result of school experiences in the first place.

Before moving on to the pilot study and methodological considerations, a brief account shall be provided about the curricular background of foreign language teaching and about the oral production tasks in foreign language classes.

3. Language Teaching and Oral Production Tasks

3.1. Curricular Outlines

In the past decades, foreign language education has adopted an increasingly communicative emphasis. The main goal of contemporary foreign language education is to improve the students' ability to engage in different kinds of communicative interaction in the target language (LOPS 2003; POPS 2004). Student evaluation is based on both written and spoken language: writing, reading, listening and speaking. Each skill is evaluated on the basis of standardized skill level descriptions taken from the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR, 2001), a document designated by the European Council as a common, unified basis for foreign language education within Europe. For example, in order to receive grade 8 ('good skills') in an A-language, an upper secondary school graduate's skills should be at level 'B2.1.' in both written and spoken language (LOPS 2003: 88). It is specified in the CEFR that at this level, the student should be able to understand fast-paced native speech and to communicate fluently and spontaneously with both native and non-native speakers (CEFR 2001: 66, 74).

3.2. Communicative Language Teaching and Oral Production Tasks

Much of today's curricular outlines for foreign language education have been influenced by the notion of *Communicative Language Teaching* (CLT). Language is learned in interaction and by taking part in meaningful *communicative tasks*, defined by Nunan (1989) as "a piece of classroom work which involves learners in comprehending, manipulating, producing or interacting in the target language while their attention is principally focused on meaning rather than form". The CEFR (2001: 157–158) distinguishes between two types of communicative tasks. *Real-life tasks* practise skills needed outside the classroom, while *pedagogic tasks* have their basis in the social and interactive nature of the classroom situation. Despite being only indirectly related to authentic language use, pedagogic tasks form the core of foreign language classes (Brown 2001). They aim to build the learner's communicative competence based on what is known about second language acquisition. Even though

communicative tasks place the emphasis on meaning, research has suggested that a well-balanced attention to both meaning and form has the best learning outcomes (cf. CERF 2001: 158; Ellis 2003: 207–209).

Communicative tasks can involve both written and spoken interaction, production and reception. In this study I will concentrate solely on tasks that require oral production (i.e. speaking) from the learner. I will refer to tasks of this kind as *oral production tasks*. Oral production tasks can include, for example, reading aloud, asking for instructions, answering questions in teacher-student interaction, group and pair discussions, presentations, speeches, games, role-plays, acting, and debates. According to the CEFR (2001: 162–164), the difficulty of oral production tasks depends on a number of features including the time allowed for preparation and execution, the duration of turns and the task in general, the support and language assistance available, the task goals, the predictability of task parameters, the familiarity and cooperativeness of participants, and the features of the participants' speech such as accent, clarity and rate. For example, the shorter the time for preparation, the less the amount of support given, and the longer the spoken text the learner has to produce, the more demanding the task is likely to be. These features may also have an effect on how likely the task is to arouse anxiety and apprehension.

Tasks of any kind require the activation of a range of appropriate general competences and communicative language competences including linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic knowledge and skills (CEFR 2001: 158). Active participation in oral production tasks always requires some amount of risk-taking as it involves making oneself subject to others' evaluation and possible ridicule (cf. Harjanne 2006: 80, 92). Oral production is more demanding than written production in that it takes place under different processing and reciprocity conditions, including the time available for preparation and the various demands of face-to-face interaction (Bygate 2001: 16). All this considered, meeting the communicative demands of contemporary foreign language education is likely to be particularly challenging for students with high foreign language CA.

4. The Pilot Study

The present study builds on a pilot study, a Bachelor's Thesis (Korpela 2010) conducted between 2008 and 2010. In this section I will give a brief account of the pilot study, its major findings and implications for the present study.

4.1. Research Objective and Methodology

The main purposes of the pilot study were, first, to analyse to what extent first-year upper secondary students experience English language communication apprehension in and outside EFL classes, and second, to measure the connection between context, gender, self-assessed English proficiency and communication apprehension level. Moreover, as most previous survey studies on the foreign language CA of Finnish students date from the 1980s and 1990s, the pilot study also sought to find out about the current prevalence of English language CA among Finnish upper secondary school students. (Korpela 2010: 5.)

The pilot study was quantitative in nature. I collected the data by means of a six-part questionnaire composed of Likert-type statements. The questionnaire was purposefully constructed, first, to yield essential background information to the present study, second, to help single out cases for the interviews, and third, to provide quantitative data for the present study. The parts of the questionnaire measured the respondents' self-assessed English proficiency, their English language communication apprehension in and outside classes, and the anxiety-provoking quality of different communicative tasks in EFL classes. I will present the structure of the questionnaire in more detail later in section 6. since a large part of the data were analysed in the present study. (Korpela 2010: 19–22.)

I gathered the data for the pilot study in May 2008. The data collection will be explained in more detail in section 6. In brief, the respondents were 122 first-year upper secondary school A1 English learners, 68 females (68%), 38 males (31%) and one who did not want to reveal his or her gender. I selected the respondents part randomly, part intentionally from four upper secondary schools that were as diverse as possible with

regard to location, entrance grades and specialisation areas. The heterogeneity of the schools contributed to a greater heterogeneity of the subjects. I personally distributed the questionnaires during classes or exam situations to minimize the loss. (Korpela 2010: 19–22.)

I analysed the pilot study data with statistical methods using SPSS software. The scales measuring self-assessed English proficiency and English language communication apprehension were found statistically reliable with alpha values ranging from .925 to .959. I classified the subjects into three groups by standard deviation – the high apprehensives, the moderately apprehensives and the low apprehensives – on the basis of their score on the CA scale and the distribution of these scores on the normal curve. The higher the score, the higher the level of English language CA, and vice versa. The subjects for the present study were chosen among the high and the low apprehensives. (Korpela 2010: 23–25.) (for more, see section 6.3.1.)

4.2. English Language Communication Apprehension: Frequencies and Connection to Context, Gender and Self-Assessed English Proficiency

The pilot study indicated that approximately one sixth of the respondents ($n = 122$) experienced English language CA either in classes (14.8%) or outside classes (17.2%). Likewise, approximately one sixth were classified as low apprehensives in classes (16.4%) or outside classes (15.6%) (see tables 1.1 and 1.2) (Korpela 2010: 26–29.) The incidences of English language CA in these two contexts were measured with slightly different scales, due to which the frequencies are not fully comparable.

Table 1.1: English language CA outside EFL classes (Korpela 2010: 27).

	Respondents (n)	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Low apprehensives ≤ 22.8	20	16.4	16.4	16.4
Moderately apprehensives 22.9 - 42.8	81	66.4	66.4	82.8
High apprehensives ≥ 42.9	21	17.2	17.2	100.0
Total	122	100.0	100.0	

Table 1.2: English language CA in EFL classes (Korpela 2010: 29).

	Respondents (n)	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Low apprehensives ≤ 49.3	19	15.6	15.6	15.6
Moderately apprehensives 49.4 - 94.4	85	69.7	69.7	85.2
High apprehensives ≥ 94.5	18	14.8	14.8	100.0
Total	122	100.0	100.0	

Judging by these frequencies, CA seems to be somewhat more common outside EFL classes. However, item 3.19. (see table 2.1 and figure 2.2) measuring the influence of context on CA indicated that altogether 68.9% of the respondents ($n = 122$) felt more confident speaking English outside EFL classes (Korpela 2010: 30), that is, they either somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed with the statement “I speak English more confidently outside EFL classes”. Speaking English in EFL classes, therefore, is more likely to increase CA than English-speaking situations outside the classes.

Table 2.1: The distribution of responses for item 3.19. “I speak English more confidently outside EFL classes” (Korpela 2010: 30).

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	no experience	4	3.3	3.3	3.3
	strongly disagree	3	2.5	2.5	5.8
	disagree	9	7.4	7.4	13.2
	somewhat disagree	21	17.2	17.4	30.6
	somewhat agree	34	27.9	28.1	58.7
	agree	24	19.7	19.8	78.5
	strongly agree	26	21.3	21.5	100.0
	Total	121	99.2	100.0	
Missing	.	1	.8		
Total		122	100.0		

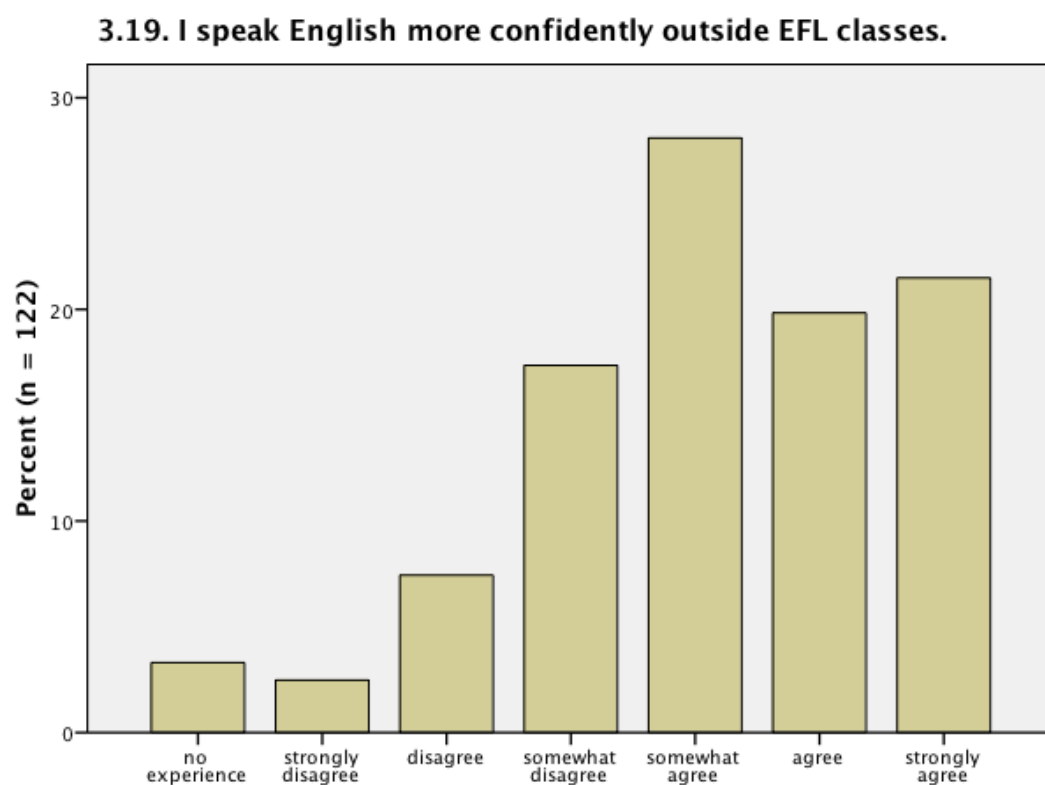


Figure 1: The distribution of responses for item 3.19. (Korpela 2010: 31).

Gender was not statistically related to communication apprehension (Korpela 2010: 31–32). This was in line with earlier research findings (e.g. Manninen 1984; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986; Koskinen 1995; MacIntyre et al. 2002; Almonkari 2007). Self-assessed English proficiency, on the other hand, was related to the CA level: the higher the communication apprehension level, the lower the self-assessed English proficiency both outside classes and in classes. Figure 2 illustrates the correlation of the self-assessments and the CA level in EFL classes. The correlation was statistically significant ($p < 0.01$) in both incidences. (Korpela 2010: 33–34.) The result is paradoxical in the sense that those in direst need of oral practise were also the most apprehensive. Because the apprehensive speakers avoid communication in English, they do not get to improve their oral skills and gain more confidence from successful communication situations. This can develop into a vicious circle that maintains itself and slows down further learning.

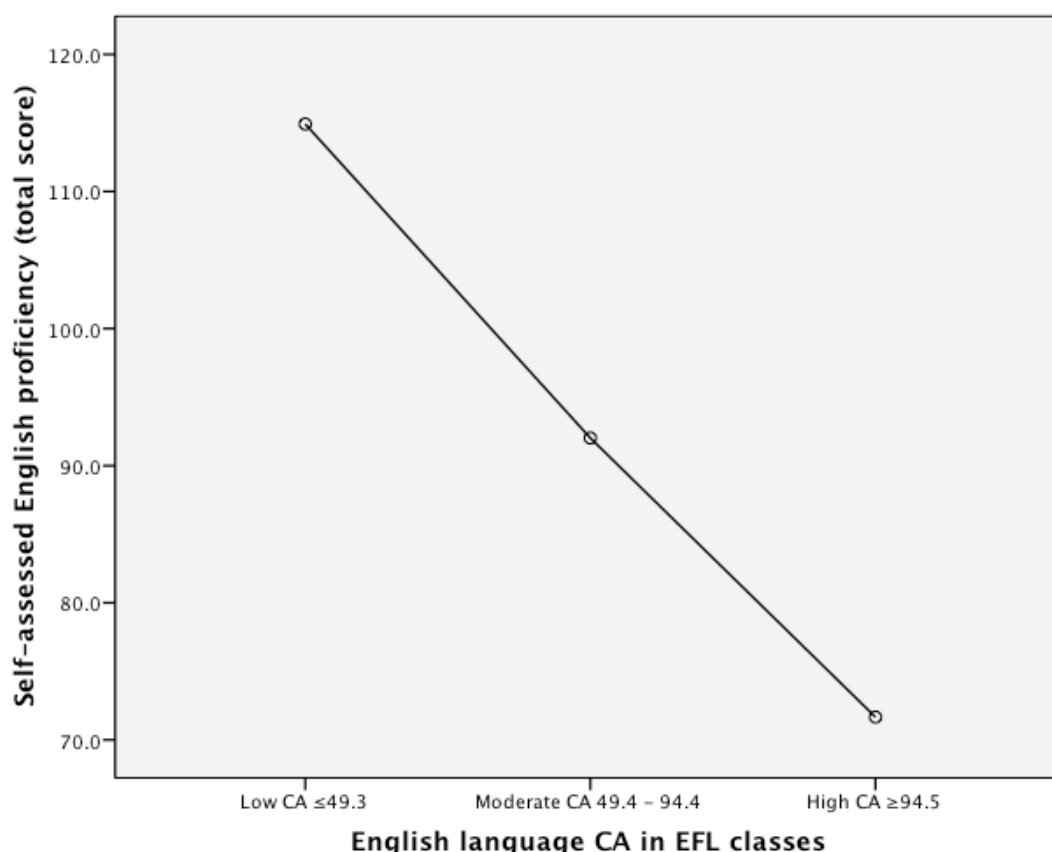


Figure 2: Self-assessed English proficiency vs. English language CA in EFL classes (Korpela 2010: 34).

The pilot study indicated that while most upper secondary students can be classified as low apprehensive English speakers, there are still a small number of students who feel highly apprehensive about speaking English in or outside classes. The pilot study only provided numbers – the reasons for the reported behaviour and feelings were left unsaid. Some atypical cases were found as well, like apprehensive speakers with a high self-assessed English proficiency. The pilot study evoked my thirst for a more thorough picture of English or foreign language CA and helped me formulate the research objectives of present study. These shall be presented in the following section.

5. The Present Study

The present study focuses on the subjective experiences upper secondary students have of speaking English in different communicative situations and their self-reports of how they typically feel about communicating in these situations past and present. The purpose is to describe, analyse and interpret why students feel apprehensive in EFL classes as well as what they consider the most anxiety-arousing oral production tasks and activities in classes and why. Communicative experiences and incidences of CA outside EFL classes will be taken into consideration only if they account for the CA in the class context.

5.1. Research Questions

The present study addresses the following questions:

1. Why do upper secondary students feel apprehensive about communicating in English in English as a foreign language classes?

The pilot study indicated that a significant number of upper secondary students (68.9%, $n = 122$) spoke English more confidently outside EFL classes (Korpela 2010: 30). The reasons remained unclear. The class context seems to involve many of the features that can increase CA and anxiety in a given communication situation (see sections 2.5.9. and 3.). Many of these features will, assumedly, come up in the interviews. Besides, there are likely to be many additional features and causes of English language CA that arise from the uniqueness of foreign language communication in the class context.

2. Which oral production tasks in English as a foreign language classes arouse English language communication apprehension among upper secondary students, and why?
 - 2.1. Which features of different oral production tasks arouse English language communication apprehension in English as a foreign language classes?

The pilot study treated the class context as a single whole – we know that 68.9% of students were more apprehensive about speaking English in EFL classes in general. However, the level of CA can vary greatly within the class context depending on the oral production task and several situational features. This research question thus complements the first one.

In the analysis, the self-reports and experiences of both high apprehensive and low apprehensive foreign language learners will be considered. Earlier Finnish studies have focused solely on learners with high CA. A comparison of the self-reports and experiences of both high apprehensive and low apprehensive students is likely to yield a more complete picture of foreign or English language CA and help to identify its possible origins. The analysis of the causes and features contributing to English language CA will be based both on the students' own reasoning and on my interpretations of the interview and questionnaire data.

6. Methodology

6.1. Research Method and Paradigm

There are three major methods that have been used to study communication apprehension and related concepts: self-report measures initiated by Lomas (1934) and Gilkinson (1942), behavioural observation introduced by Hennings (1935) and physiological arousal assessment launched by Redding (1936) (McCroskey 1997a: 191). While all three are equally valid approaches for measuring communication apprehension, they serve different purposes. As McCroskey (1997a: 192–193) points out, the choice of method depends on how we define the object of study.

As stated earlier, the present study concerns exclusively subjective experiences, perceptions and feelings in different EFL communication situations. Being only a combination of subjective perceptions, communication apprehension is not necessarily something an objective observer would notice in the respondents' behaviour (McCroskey 1997a: 195). Therefore, the key to understanding the respondents' experiences and feelings is self-report.

Self-report has so far been the most widely employed method in research into communication apprehension and foreign language anxiety (cf. McCroskey 1997a: 196). The method suits well for both trait-like and state-like CA concerns: it is equally easy for respondents to report on general feelings and feelings in more specific communication situations (McCroskey 1997a: 197). The self-report is considered a relatively reliable way of gaining information about matters of affect and perception if the respondent has first-hand knowledge, is willing to share it, and has no reason to fear negative consequences from any answer given. Accordingly, a mutual trust between the researcher and the respondent is the key to avoiding false and vague answers. In reality, the respondents' ability to analyse their feelings may of course vary individually. (cf. McCroskey 1997a: 196.)

The present study relies on the self-report tradition for the reasons listed above. The fact that the self-report method can be used to address many types of CA justifies its

use in the present study, as English language CA may either be state-like, occurring only in some situations or contexts, or trait-like, extending also to native language communication. Using both quantitative and qualitative approach, I collected the data by means of a Likert-type questionnaire (see Appendix 1) and theme interviews. Methodological triangulation, the use of two different data collection methods (cf. Eskola & Suoranta 1998: 69), served the purposes of this study as it contributed to a more comprehensive picture of English language CA. The survey provided an outline for the interviews, whereas the interviews complemented and clarified the survey data – for example, the interviewees gave reasons for their questionnaire responses and analysed why they felt apprehensive in certain communicative situations in English. The analysis drew on both quantitative and qualitative approaches with an emphasis on the latter.

It has been argued that combining the methods of the positivist and phenomenological-hermeneutic paradigms is problematic as they rely on different ontological and epistemological bases. Positivists traditionally believe reality is out there to be “studied, captured and understood” (Hatch 2002: 13), and methods like surveys provide objective and generalizable data of that reality. Phenomenological-hermeneutical paradigm, on the other hand, is based on an ontology where absolute truths are non-existent; the objects of inquiry are individual constructions of reality (cf. Hatch 2002: 15; Metsämuuronen 2006: 87). For me, the possibility of obtaining comprehensive and interesting data greatly outweighed the need for methodological orthodoxy. I saw that the comprehensive data would compensate for any ontological and epistemological dilemmas caused by the combination of quantitative and qualitative inquiry.

6.2. Data Collection

The data collection involved two phases. The first phase took place in May 2008 and yielded questionnaire data both for the pilot study and the present study. The second phase of data collection took place in February and March 2009 in the form of eleven (11) theme interviews. The following subsections will describe the two phases of data collection as well as the structure of the questionnaire and the theme interview.

6.2.1. Questionnaire Data and Respondents

The questionnaire respondents were the same as for the pilot study. Altogether 129 first-year upper secondary school students answered the questionnaires, 122 of which were included in the analysis. Out of these 122 respondents 68 were females (68%), 38 males (31%) and one did not want to reveal his or her gender. All respondents had English as their major (A1) foreign language. Most (58%) of them had begun studying English in the third grade of the primary school. I personally collected the questionnaires during normal EFL classes or exam situations to minimize the loss. Accordingly, only seven (7) questionnaires (5.5% of the total sample) had to be rejected because of hasty or incomplete responses or other reasons. Thus, 94.8% of the total sample was included in the analysis. (see also Korpela 2010: 22–23.)

I selected the respondents partly at random, partly on purpose from four upper secondary schools in Helsinki. The random element in the data collection was that only six (6) teachers out of the 33 who received my e-mail request agreed to help and allowed me to collect data during a class or an exam situation. The intentional element, on the other hand, was the fact that I carefully selected as diverse upper secondary schools as possible to ensure a greater heterogeneity of subjects. The selected schools varied in terms of minimum entrance grades, location, and specialisation areas. At the time of the research, the entrance grades ranged from low to high. One school was located in central Helsinki, two in western Helsinki and one in eastern Helsinki. One of the schools was a specialised upper secondary school (suom. ‘erityistehtävän saanut lukio’) while the rest followed the general curriculum. (see also Korpela 2010: 22–23.)

I targeted the study for upper secondary students for two reasons: first, because they assumedly have enough experience of using English to reflect on, and second, because their metacognitive skills have reached a level that enables them to analyse their behaviour, feelings and experiences more thoroughly than, for example, secondary students.

6.2.2. Questionnaire Structure

I constructed the questionnaire on the basis of theory, previous findings (especially Manninen 1984; Horwitz et al. 1986; Koskinen 1995; Nuto 2003) and two of the most widely employed scales in CA research, McCroskey's (1970) PRCA-24 scale (Personal Report of Communication Apprehension with 24 items) and Horwitz's (1986) FLCAS (Foreign Language Communication Apprehension Scale). About one half of the items were based on the scales and another half on previous research and theory on CA and its conceptual relatives. (see also Korpela 2010: 19.)

The questionnaire included six parts, two (IV and V) of which are particularly relevant to the present study. All parts are, nevertheless, presented here for the sake of clarity. The parts were as follows: (partly adopted from Korpela 2010: 20–21.)

I Background information: the background information section asked for the respondent's age, gender, length of English studies in years, latest English grades and use of English outside school. The respondent's age and use of English outside school were used as control questions to ensure that the respondents belonged more or less to the same age group and that nobody spoke English as a second language. Those who did were excluded from the analysis. The respondent's gender and length of English studies in years were included already in the pilot analyses. The remaining data were used in the interviews as conversation prompts and when building the profiles of apprehensive and low apprehensive speakers. (adopted from Korpela 2010: 20.)

II Self-assessed English proficiency (28 items): the respondents were asked to assess their English proficiency in the areas of reading, writing, speaking and listening on a scale from 1 (poor) to 5 (excellent). The first 8 items (1.a.–1.h.) covered all the four areas, while oral English proficiency was measured more specifically with 13 items (2.a.–2.m.) for speaking and 7 items (2.n.–2.m.) for listening. The items measuring oral proficiency were based on the descriptions of proficiency levels and language learning content in the CEFR (2001). They represented communicative situations that a language learner typically encounters. Together the 28 items – 8 measuring English language proficiency in general and 20 measuring oral proficiency – constituted a self-assessed English language proficiency scale (sum variable PROFICIENCY). For more on data analysis, turn to section 6.3.1. Analysing the Questionnaire Data. (adopted from Korpela 2010: 20.)

III Speaking English outside EFL classes (21 items): the third part consisted of 21 items concerning the respondent's feelings about speaking English outside EFL classes. This part provided data mostly for the pilot study; relevant to the present study are the sets of items marked with an asterisk *. The respondents were asked to evaluate how well the statement

describes them on a scale from 1 (fully disagree) to 6 (fully agree). The respondent could also answer 0 (no experience). The items measured the following features of foreign language CA:

- Feelings about speaking English: items 1, 6, 8, 9, 10
- Willingness to communicate (WTC) in English: 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 18
- Self-set demands for oral performance: 13, 14
- Feelings about speaking English unprepared: 12, 17
- * The impact of the audience's familiarity and English proficiency on CA: 15, 16, 20, 21
- The impact of context on CA: 19
- (* Self-assessed written vs. spoken proficiency: 11)

Included in part III was the scale that was used to determine the respondents' level of English language CA outside EFL classes in the pilot study. The scale was constructed on the basis of factor analysis and the content of the items. The final scale consisted of 10 items (1–8, 10 and 18) measuring the feelings about speaking English and the willingness to communicate in English. Item 9 was left out because it did not get high loadings either on two-, three- or four-factor solutions. The 10 items were then combined into a sum variable CAOUT, the score of which denoted the respondent's English language CA level outside EFL classes. The remaining items (11–17, 19–21) measured various features connected to foreign language CA and anxiety in the light of earlier studies. Item 11 was an extension of the self-assessment part II and applied in the interviews as a conversation prompt. All in all, the responses to part III were used mainly to prompt discussion in the interviews and to back up the qualitative analysis. For more on the analysis, see section 6.3. (adopted from Korpela 2010: 20–21.)

IV Speaking English in EFL classes (51 items): the fourth part included 51 items concerning the respondent's feelings about speaking English in EFL classes. The sets of items marked with an asterisk concern the present study. The respondents were asked to evaluate how well the statement describes them on a scale from 1 (fully disagree) to 6 (fully agree). The items measured the following features of foreign language CA:

- * Feelings about speaking English: items 25, 30, 37, 46, 57, 64, 66, 68
- * Willingness to communicate in English: 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 38, 39
- Native language CA and WTC in classes: 34, 52, 59
- * Anxiety about EFL classes in general: 22, 28, 35
- * Concern over errors: 36, 43, 47, 48, 53, 55, 56
- * Concern over negative evaluation: 41, 50, 51
- * Peer comparison: 49, 70
- * Feelings about speaking English unprepared: 54, 63, 72
- * Physical activation: 67, 71
- Receiver anxiety: 60, 61, 69
- * Cognitive overload: 58, 62, 65

The 23 items that measured feelings about speaking English, willingness to communicate, physical activation and cognitive overload (23–27, 29–33, 37–39, 46, 57–58, 62 and 64–68) constituted the *English language CA in EFL classes* scale in the pilot study. The 23 items were

combined into a sum variable CACLASS, the score of which determined the respondent's CA level in EFL classes. The remaining sets of items measured various features connected to foreign language CA and anxiety in the EFL class context. Items 40, 42, 44 and 45 were problematic and thus excluded from the analysis. The remaining items were combined into six (6) sum variables and analysed together with the interview data. For more, see section 6.3. (partly adopted from Korpela 2010: 21.)

V Oral production tasks and communication situations in EFL classes (24 items): the fifth part consisted of 24 oral production tasks or communication situations that typically occur in EFL classes. This part provided quantitative data solely for the present study and was also used as a starting point for discussion in the interviews. The tasks were taken from the CEFR (2001: 146, 157–167) and from my own language learning experiences. They differed in terms of formality level, the potential support given, the time available for preparation, the size of audience, the amount of attention, the extent of evaluation and the level of language proficiency required for successful task execution. The respondents were asked to evaluate how anxiety-arousing the tasks and situations were on a scale from 1 (not anxiety-arousing) to 4 (very anxiety-arousing). The respondent could also answer 0 (no experience).

VI Possible causes of English language CA (11 items): the sixth part included a predefined set of possible causes of English language CA taken from earlier findings, theory and my hypotheses. The respondents had to evaluate what could cause their English language CA in and outside EFL classes on a scale from 1 (not a notable cause) to 4 (very notable cause). The respondents could answer even if they saw themselves as confident speakers. The causes included group atmosphere, teacher, being subject to evaluation, deficient language proficiency, certain student(s), perfectionism, tasks and methods in classes, a lack of experience and practise, a lack of encouragement, and negative earlier experiences. The responses for this part were only used as conversation prompts in the interviews and not analysed statistically.

6.2.3. The Theme Interview

The second phase of the data collection consisted of eleven (11) theme interviews (suom. teemahaastattelu), also known as the *focused interview*, originally introduced by Merton, Fiske and Kendall (1956) and further developed and renamed as *theme interview* by Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2001). It is a semi-structured, conversation-like data collection method that allows the respondents to speak freely about their views and experiences on a particular matter. In the present study the theme interview was purposefully designed to complement and extend the questionnaire data.

The theme interview served the purposes of the present study extremely well. It has many advantages over questionnaires and is well-suited for studying such a

multifaceted phenomenon as English language CA. The pre-set choices of the questionnaire could have excluded some important aspects of the phenomenon. A qualitative method like the theme interview, on the other hand, takes the individual and dynamic nature of CA into account by allowing the interviewees to talk freely about their subjective point of view and experiences. When carried out successfully, the theme interview is said to contribute to an informal atmosphere and a friendly relationship between the researcher and the interviewee and encourage him or her to open up about sensitive topics such as CA. (cf. Metsämuuronen 2006: 115.)

Being a semi-structured interview, the theme interview resembles an unstructured interview in many respects. The biggest difference between the two is that the semi-structured interview always contains a structured element (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001: 47). In the theme interview the structured element is a set of themes or discussion topics decided beforehand by the researcher. The themes are the same for every respondent, but the actual questions and their wording may alter in every interview. At best, the interview resembles free conversation that flows naturally from one question and topic to another. The researcher may also have some predefined questions prepared in case the respondent is uncooperative or the researcher lacks interviewing experience. (cf. Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001: 47–48.)

6.2.4. Interview Data and Interviewees

In the pilot study I had classified the 122 respondents into three groups of high, moderate and low apprehensives on the basis of their score on the *English language CA in EFL classes* scale (see table 1.2. in section 4.2.). I selected only such students for an interview who reported either a high or a low level of English language CA in EFL classes. Thereby, I chose the eleven (11) interviewees by *purposeful selection*, also known as *discretionary sampling* (suom. ‘harkinnanvarainen otanta’ tai ‘harkinnanvarainen näyte’) (see, e.g. Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2003: 89), *purposeful sampling* or *criterion-based selection* (cf. Maxwell 2005: 88). As opposed to random sampling, purposeful selection means that a number of unique, informative cases are deliberately selected for in-depth analysis (cf. Maxwell 2005: 88). This sampling technique ensures that the interviewees fill the research criteria and have adequate

knowledge and experience to provide answers to the research questions (cf. Maxwell 2005: 88; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2003: 88).

The eleven (11) interviewees were aged 17–19. All of them had started learning English in the primary school, either in the first, second or third grade. There were nine (9) females and two (2) males. Six (6) interviewees, five females and one male, had a high level of English language CA, and five (5) interviewees, one male and four females, had a low level of English language CA. The primary purpose of the interviews was not to yield generalizable findings but to contribute to a deeper understanding of English language CA as well as to complement the questionnaire data. Therefore, the number of interviewees did not have to exceed 11. Qualitative data can be rather extensive despite the small number of interviewees (cf. Eskola & Suoranta 1996).

Table 2: The interviewees: background factors, English proficiency and English language CA score.

	Gender	Age	Studied English since	Two previous English grades	Self-assessed English proficiency (mean)	English language CA score and level
Interviewee 1	Female	17/18	3 rd grade	7 and 7	3.0 / 5.0	95.8/ 137.0, high CA
Interviewee 2	Female	17/18	3 rd grade	10 and 10	4.0 / 5.0	98.0/ 137.0, high CA
Interviewee 3	Female	17/18	2 nd grade	8 and 7	3.0 / 5.0	105.0/ 137.0, high CA
Interviewee 4	Female	17/18	1 st grade	9 and 8	4.0 / 5.0	98.0/ 137.0, high CA
Interviewee 5	Male	17/18	3 rd grade	8 and 9	4.0 / 5.0	94.5/ 137.0, high CA
Interviewee 6	Female	17/18	3 rd grade	4 and 5	2.0 / 5.0	98.0/ 137.0, high CA
Interviewee 7	Female	18/19	1 st grade	7 and 8	4.0 / 5.0	49.0/ 137.0, low CA
Interviewee 8	Female	17/18	3 rd grade	7 and 7	5.0 / 5.0	48.0/ 137.0, low CA
Interviewee 9	Female	18/19	1 st grade	7 and 8	5.0 / 5.0	39.0/ 137.0, low CA
Interviewee 10	Female	17/18	2 nd grade	9 and 9	5.0 / 5.0	41.0 / 137.0, low CA
Interviewee 11	Male	17/18	1 st grade	5 and 5	4.0 / 5.0	47.0/ 137.0, low CA

The interviewees were quite a heterogeneous group as regards past English grades and self-assessed English proficiency: the grades varied from 4 to 10 and self-assessments

from 2 to 5 out of 5. The CA scores were 94.5–105.0 for the high CA group and 39.0–49.0 for the low CA group. All interviewees had a positive attitude towards learning English regardless of the CA level: being able to communicate fluently in English was important for everyone. Even interviewees with high CA had study or career plans that involved speaking English to some extent.

The interview data date from February and March 2009. The interviews took place in a peaceful room at one of the University of Helsinki buildings. The interviews were recorded, to which all interviewees agreed. The language used was everyday Finnish. Before starting the interview I gave the interviewees brief information about the present study and the interview so as to make them feel more comfortable during the interview. My aim was to create a relaxed and confidential atmosphere that would encourage the interviewees to open up about such sensitive issues as emotions and negative experiences. In most cases this worked and a confidential atmosphere was achieved. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and one hour.

6.2.5. Interview Outline

Being a semi-structured, conversation-like data collection method, the theme interview does not call for strictly formulated questions and a restricted structure (cf. Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2003: 77). However, due to my inexperience as an interviewer, some core questions were framed in advance. First, this guaranteed that all the core problems were covered with all the respondents and that the terms used were more or less the same, even though I altered the wording depending on the situation, so as for the conversation to flow naturally. Second, observing what Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2001: 103) point out, carefully formulated set questions helped me to carry on the interview if the interviewee was either withdrawn or just could not come up with an answer to a given question. Third, the set questions also kept me as an interviewer on track with such a many-sided topic as communication apprehension.

I formulated the interview themes on the basis of theory and previous research on native language CA, foreign language CA, and foreign language anxiety, including the pilot study findings (Korpela 2010). Besides, I used some of the questionnaire

responses as a basis when formulating certain questions linked to themes 2 (self-assessed English proficiency), 6 (the interviewee as an English speaker), 7 (reactions to errors) and 8 (situational CA and oral production tasks in EFL classes). I did this either to get a clarification for the questionnaire responses or to find out if things had changed since May 2008 when the questionnaire was distributed.

The interview themes included the following:

1. Background information: personal history of learning English in and out of school
2. Self-assessed English proficiency
3. Personal goals for and thoughts about learning spoken English
4. EFL classes: atmosphere, teachers and teaching, oral production tasks and subjective experiences of speaking English
5. The interviewee as a native speaker: feelings, experiences and willingness to communicate in and out of classes
6. The interviewee as an English speaker: feelings, experiences and willingness to communicate in and out of EFL classes
7. Reactions to errors
8. Situational CA and oral production tasks in EFL classes
9. Positive and negative experiences of speaking English in and out of EFL classes

All in all, the interviews flowed naturally from one topic to another like everyday conversations. The atmosphere was relaxed and confidential. Besides the given themes, I also let the interviewees speak about issues that were somewhat irrelevant to the present study focus. This was intentional, since I believed that a natural, conversation-like interview would help the interviewees to relax and open up, which they did – some immediately, some eventually. For the same reason, I also offered them refreshments, so that they could turn to a glass of juice if they wanted to think about their answer for a while, for example. All of the interviews ran without interruptions or other disturbances.

6.3. Data Analysis

6.3.1. Analysing the Questionnaire Data

I entered the questionnaire data into the SPSS programme in autumn 2008 and analysed the pilot data in summer 2009 and the present data in spring 2010⁵. First, I checked the data for errors and calculated the frequencies, mean values, medians, standard deviations, variance and minimum and maximum values for each item in parts II – V of the questionnaire. Missing values were excluded from the analysis, except for the *English language CA in EFL classes* (CACCLASS) variable where missing values were replaced with series means. Items 40, 42, 44 and 45 were problematic and thus excluded from the analysis.

Then, I formed seven (7) sum variables from items in parts III and IV of the questionnaire according to the semantic content of the items and in some cases, also factor analysis. Two of the sum variables (PROFICIENCY and CAOUT, see 6.2.2) applied to the pilot study focus only and will not be described here. The following five (5) sum variables concern the present study: (cf. Appendix 1)

1. English language CA in EFL classes (CACCLASS): comprised of 23 items measuring feelings about speaking English, willingness to communicate, physical activation and cognitive overload (23–27, 29–33, 37–39, 46, 57–58, 62 and 64–68). Together, these constituted the *English language CA in EFL classes* scale, the score of which determined the respondent's CA level in EFL classes in the pilot study. This CA score also applied when selecting the eleven interviewees for the present study. The scoring was turned for items 22, 23, 24, 28, 39, 45, 46, 48, 56, 64 and 66. The item-total correlations ranged from moderate ($r_{pbis} = .521$) to very strong ($r_{pbis} = .804$). The scale was consistent and reliable with an alpha value of .959. (see also Korpela 2010: 24.)

2. Concern over errors (ERR): comprised of items 36, 43, 47, 48, 53, 55 and 56. The scoring was turned for items 48 and 56. The higher the score, the greater the concern over errors. The scale was consistent and reliable with item-total correlations ranging from moderate ($r_{pbis} = .384$) to strong ($r_{pbis} = .632$) and with an alpha value of .798.

⁵ The following publications were particularly helpful in the statistical analysis: Bryman & Cramer (2005), Metsämuuronen (2005), Muijs (2004) and Pallant (2005) (see References).

3. Concern over negative evaluation (EVAL): comprised of items 41, 50 and 51. The higher the score, the greater the concern over other people's evaluation of one's oral performance. The scale was consistent and reliable with strong item-total correlations ($r_{pbis} = .688$ to $.792$) and an alpha value of $.871$.

4. Anxiety about speaking English unprepared (SPONT): comprised of items 54, 63 and 72. The greater the score, the greater the anxiety about speaking English unprepared. The scale was consistent and reliable with strong item-total correlations ($r_{pbis} = .643$ to $.734$) and an alpha value of $.831$.

5. The conversation partner's English proficiency (PART): comprised of items 16, 20 and 21. Measured whether the conversation partner's English proficiency affects English language CA incidence. The scale was consistent and reliable with strong item-total correlations ($r_{pbis} = .652$ to $.710$) and an alpha value of $.827$.

Again, I calculated distributions for each sum variable, including absolute and relative frequencies, mean and median values and standard deviation. I also verified the reliability of the scales using Cronbach's alpha. Then, I classified the respondents into three groups on the basis of their score on the *English language CA in EFL classes* scale (sum variable CACCLASS) and the distribution of these scores on the normal curve. The point of reference was standard deviation. The first group consisted of respondents whose CA score was one standard deviation below the mean score, the second group of those within one standard deviation below or above the mean score, and the third group of those one standard deviation above the mean score. Three groups emerged accordingly: the low apprehensives (low CA score), the moderately apprehensives (moderate CA score) and the high apprehensives (high CA score).

Sum variables 2–5 represented features potentially related to foreign language CA. I measured their connection to English language CA by calculating the Pearson correlation coefficients that indicate the strength of association between two variables. In addition, to see whether there were any differences between the three CA groups as regards the abovementioned features, I conducted one-way analysis of variance (one-way ANOVA) that shows the significance of difference among two or more group means.

6.3.2. Analysing the Interview Data

I transcribed interviews word-for-word in December 2009. Bursts of laughter, pauses and hesitation were marked, because they were significant data as such, revealing things like the interviewee's attitudes or the difficulty of questions. They also helped me to evaluate whether the answer was reliable, for example – hesitation could mean that the question was tricky and the interviewee wanted to reflect on it instead of giving a hasty response. All other details such as the length of pauses and tone of voice were neglected, because they were irrelevant for the purposes of the present study.

After the transcription, I verified that the transcriptions were correct and read through the transcribed data several times in order to form a general idea of the interviews. Then, using the technique of *content analysis* (suom. 'sisällönanalyysi') I reduced, coded and reorganized the data into thematic categories – first into smaller subcategories and then into larger key categories. This facilitated comparison and helped me discover relationships, identify patterns, make interpretations and generate synthesis from the data. (cf. Maxwell 2005: 96). The process is called *abstraction* (suom. 'abstrahointi'): reducing the data into the most essential bits and then reorganizing it into categories that represent the key themes of the data. (cf. Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2003.)

Following what Eskola (2001) has defined as *theory-guided analysis* (suom. 'teoriaohjaava' tai 'teoriasidonnainen analyysi'), I relied on previous theory and research on foreign language CA and anxiety only insofar as it facilitated the data analysis and provided a part of the conceptual framework. The analysis was thus a synthesis of induction and deduction: it was based equally much on the data at hand and on previous theory and findings.

When analysing the causes of communication apprehension in EFL classes and during certain oral production tasks I drew both on my own interpretations of the data as well as on the interviewees' own reasoning. In the course of the interviews, some interviewees actually realised themselves where their English language CA derived from, while some just answered my questions and left the analysis for me.

7. Reliability and Validity

Even though the present study relied both on quantitative and qualitative methods, the approach in the analysis was mainly qualitative. The quantitative data were mainly used to validate the interview responses. Therefore, I chose to assess the reliability and validity of the study mainly according to criteria presented for qualitative research. However, since the quantitative data naturally had an influence on my interpretations of the interviews and hence on the overall reliability and validity of this study, I also decided to briefly consider the reliability and validity of the quantitative parts for the sake of clarity.

7.1. The Qualitative Content

Assessing the reliability and validity of qualitative research is somewhat problematic. The concepts of reliability and validity derive from the positivist tradition and quantitative research that lean on the epistemological theory of correspondence, the search for objective truth. Hence many scholars argue that the terms are ill-suited for assessing the reliability and validity of qualitative research in their original sense (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Miles & Huberman 1994). Several checklists for assessing the validity of qualitative studies have been suggested accordingly. Here I have mostly applied the criteria compiled from several sources by Maxwell (2005) and Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2003).

One of the fundamental concerns of qualitative research is that of *credibility*: how well do the researcher's interpretations correspond with the respondents' original constructions and interpretations of reality (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2003: 136–137). Another fundamental concern is researcher bias, the subjectivity of the researcher: the data and its analysis always filter through the researcher's perceptual lens, theories and beliefs (Maxwell 2005: 108; Miles & Huberman 1994: 263).

The credibility of the present study was increased mainly by means of *respondent validation* (Miles & Huberman 1994) and *methodological triangulation* (Denzin 1978; Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001: 189), even though triangulation does not automatically

increase validity as much as it increases comprehensiveness of data (Fielding & Fielding 1986, Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2003: 141). As for respondent validation, also called 'member check' by some scholars (cf. Bryman 1988, Janesick 1994), I made tentative interpretations of the interviewees' individual responses in course of the interviews and checked for confirmation that I had understood the answer correctly before moving on. This way I ruled out the possibility of misinterpreting the interviewee through my own biases (cf. Maxwell 2005: 111). This 'member checking' was also necessary so that I could formulate the following questions appropriately, building on the interviewee's earlier answers.

As for triangulation, the data were collected by two methods, the theme interview and the questionnaire. The obtained data thus was more comprehensive and gave me a well-rounded picture of the phenomenon. The questionnaires were also partly used for respondent validation. For example, if the interviewee's responses were not in line with the questionnaire responses, I asked whether the questionnaire responses corresponded with reality any longer, considering that there were eight months between the distribution of the questionnaires and the interviews. On many occasions, the questionnaire answers served as a good starting point from where it was natural to delve deeper, prompt the interviewee for self-analysis and obtain more in-depth data as a result.

As for researcher bias, I used to suffer from a slight English language CA for all the nine years of studying it in school. This could have had an impact on my interpretations of the data. However, since I was well aware of this, I believe my personal history did not affect the analysis in any significant way. If anything, my history with English language CA, along with my knowledge of theory and earlier research on CA, could have actually facilitated the process of interviewing and analysing. When interviewing, I could easily relate to what was being told, single out the most interesting bits, delve deeper in the topic, and help the students open up. When analysing, I could easily find connections and narrow down the extensive data to the most essential points.

The validity and reliability of a qualitative study are naturally also affected by how, when and where the interviews were carried out. Some of the interviews were conducted late in the afternoon, and therefore some interviewees might have been a bit

tired despite the fact that they all seemed alert on the outside. My inexperience as an interviewer could also have had an effect on the validity and reliability. However, since I was aware of this, I paid extra attention not to pose leading questions or silence the interviewee by talking too much. All answers to questions I considered leading were eliminated and not included in the final analysis. Transcriptions were also checked for errors.

When it comes to the validity of specific interview themes, McCroskey (1997a: 197) has considered the problems of self-report in CA research and has pointed out, for example, that asking the students to self-assess their foreign language proficiency can be problematic. In his view, self-assessed proficiency reports are most likely influenced by the respondent's self-esteem and thus lack face validity: the respondent's actual, observed language proficiency may be much higher or lower. Besides self-esteem, the self-assessed proficiency can also be influenced by the respondents' academic goals, level of self-criticism and the target level they aim at when speaking English. (McCroskey 1997a: 197.) This is insignificant in the present study, however, not least because self-esteem, self-criticism and goals are all crucial elements in the inquiry into communication apprehension. My goal was to find out exactly how the respondents view their own proficiency, not how high or low they would score in an objective skills measurement. By being so biased, the self-assessments helped me understand how the interviewees see themselves and their experiences.

7.2. The Quantitative Content

The quantitative content of the study consisted of 122 questionnaire responses and their statistical analysis. In quantitative research, reliability refers to the extent to which the data collection method, such as the survey, would produce similar results if repeated (cf. Metsämuuronen 2005: 64–65). Validity refers to the extent to which the conclusions made from the data are meaningful and appropriate – that is, the instrument and its content corresponds to what it is intended to measure.

First, I verified the reliability of the scales by statistical methods. Ranging from .798 to .959, the Cronbach's alpha coefficients indicated that the scales were statistically

highly consistent and reliable. The alpha coefficients were presented earlier in section 6.3.1.

The time and place of the data collection might have affected the reliability of the questionnaire answers to some extent. About half of the respondents filled in the questionnaires just before or after their final English exam of the semester in May 2009. Under such circumstances, some respondents might have been either tired or eager to go home, and given hasty responses as a result. The questionnaire was also quite lengthy, even though most students managed to complete it within 15 minutes.

I took both of these aspects into account when analysing the quantitative data and checked the questionnaire responses for signs of hastiness. These included, for example, circling the same response to every question. To ensure a greater reliability of the results, the scales in the questionnaire consisted of both negatively and positively worded items, making it impossible to respond similarly to every question. The fact that only seven (7) respondents out of the 129 had to be eliminated because of incomplete or hasty responses implies that the respondents took the survey seriously and generally pondered over their responses.

I also took several steps to increase the validity of the questionnaire answers. First, the items relied closely on previous research and theory. About half of the items were adopted from scales that have been widely used in CA research because of their well-established validity, McCroskey's PRCA-24 (Personal Report of Communication Apprehension with 24 items) and Horwitz's (1986) FLCAS (Foreign Language Communication Apprehension Scale). Second, the items were constructed so that the wording and semantic content reflected the experiences that an upper secondary school student most likely has gained of learning and using English. Third, the questionnaire was tested by two upper secondary students who provided insightful comments on the wording of the items and the structure of the questionnaire.

As for the generalizability of the study, qualitative studies are typically case studies the results of which cannot be generalized to the whole population. However, as Maxwell (2005: 115) puts it, "there is no obvious reason *not* to believe that the results apply more generally". Since the present study relied both on qualitative and quantitative

methods and had as many as 122 questionnaire respondents, the results, or at least those relying on both the questionnaire answers and the interviews, can be generalizable to some extent when similar conditions apply.

8. Results and Analysis

The results of the present study are based both on the questionnaire data with 122 respondents and on the interview data with 11 interviewees who were picked among the questionnaire respondents on the basis of their CA score. Starting with features that contribute to English Language CA in EFL classes and moving on to oral production tasks and their anxiety-arousing qualities, in the next sections I will give an account of the major findings of the present study. I have shortened and translated the interview quotes from Finnish into English myself. The quotes can be found in their original Finnish form in Appendix 2.

8.1. Features Contributing to English Language Communication Apprehension in English Classes

When analysing the interview data, the categories presented in the following subsections emerged as the most prominent features contributing to English language CA in EFL classes. I formed the categories with the help of theory and earlier research findings. I also used the questionnaire data to validate the conclusions. The following analysis is thus based on a synthesis of the questionnaire and interview data, and on the use of both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

8.1.1. Low Self-assessed English Proficiency

Low self-assessed English proficiency, combined with insufficient oral practise and the lack of experience of speaking English were among the most prominent features contributing to English language CA in EFL classes. The interviewees with high CA generally assessed their English proficiency lower than those with low CA. The pilot study (Korpela 2010) supports this finding: the lower the self-assessed English proficiency, the higher the level of CA, and vice versa (see Figure 3). However, all interviewees, both the high and low apprehensives, mentioned that they always tried to use their existing proficiency to compensate for the lack of vocabulary or expressions:

“I think I can pronounce pretty well and – – **I can also use other expressions if I don’t know a word** and so on... so I’d say [my English] is rather fluent.” (7, female, low CA)

“My grammar has always been poor but I speak English pretty well – – If I don’t know a word, I can explain it. – – And even if I couldn’t and there would be some problems or I wouldn’t remember a word, **I would still try to explain.**” (8, female, low CA)

“Quite a lot of students are like, ‘I can’t say this, so I won’t say anything’, but **I still try to get the message through**, even imperfectly.” (10, female, low CA)

“I like to pronounce English, it’s fun, but I just have such **a limited command of grammar and vocabulary**... – – so it’s a bit rusty.” (3, female, high CA)

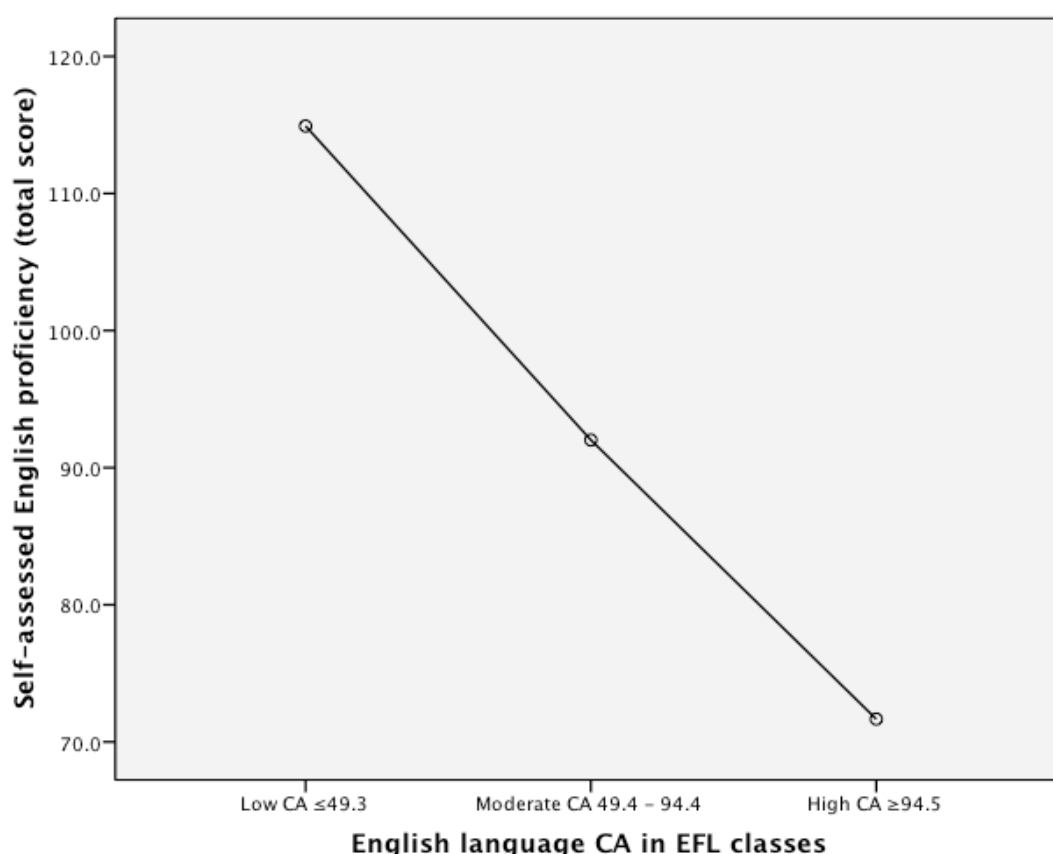


Figure 3: Self-assessed English proficiency vs. English language CA in classes.

It should be noted that the poor self-assessments were not based on a real incompetence in English (see table 3). For example, interviewee #3 had received grade 5 from two previous courses, but had evaluated his English proficiency ‘very good’ overall. Moreover, very few highly apprehensive interviewees actually had the weakest grades in English – one had even received the best possible grade (10). This is in line with Horwitz’s findings of foreign language speakers who were both highly apprehensive and highly proficient at the same time (Horwitz 1996; Gregersen & Horwitz 2002: 568). Horwitz (2001: 118) has pointed out that even highly proficient language learners

may be dissatisfied with their skills. On this account, the poor self-assessments do not represent the student's real proficiency in English but are likely to stem from unrealistic demands and standards for oral performance – the students aim at producing refined and flawless sentences and view even minor hesitation and pauses as signs of ineptitude (see also Horwitz et al. 1986: 127–128; Nuto 2003: 43–44). I will return to the demands and standards in the subsections that follow.

Table 3: The interviewees' grades and self-assessed English proficiency.

	CA score and level	Two previous English grades	Self-assessed English proficiency (mean value)
Interviewee 1	95.8/ 137.0, high CA	7 and 7	3.0 / 5.0, good
Interviewee 2	98.0/ 137.0, high CA	10 and 10	4.0 / 5.0, very good
Interviewee 3	105.0/ 137.0, high CA	8 and 7	3.0 / 5.0, good
Interviewee 4	98.0/ 137.0, high CA	9 and 8	4.0 / 5.0, very good
Interviewee 5	94.5/ 137.0, high CA	8 and 9	4.0 / 5.0, very good
Interviewee 6	98.0/ 137.0, high CA	4 and 5	2.0 / 5.0, satisfactory
Interviewee 7	49.0/ 137.0, low CA	7 and 8	4.0 / 5.0, very good
Interviewee 8	48.0/ 137.0, low CA	7 and 7	5.0 / 5.0, excellent
Interviewee 9	39.0/ 137.0, low CA	7 and 8	5.0 / 5.0, excellent
Interviewee 10	41.0 / 137.0, low CA	9 and 9	5.0 / 5.0, excellent
Interviewee 11	47.0/ 137.0, low CA	5 and 5	4.0 / 5.0, very good

Besides unrealistic demands and standards, the low self-assessments may derive from the student's lack of confidence or skills to put the existing competence into use. The highly apprehensive interviewees were generally afraid of 'freezing up' and 'going blank' when expected to speak English. Nuto (2003: 40–41) has had similar findings. Speaking a foreign language is essentially different from written production as it requires the activation of numerous general competences and communicative language competences (CEFR 2001: 158) and takes place under various processing and reciprocity conditions (Bygate 2001: 16). High oral proficiency can be only gained through a considerable amount of practise and experience, as reported by the following interviewees:

"I can cope in basic situations with my English skills but my vocabulary isn't that good, that's an area to improve. – – It started to come naturally in the language course, it was nice to speak English, but if I had to speak it now... I don't know. – – It's probably the fact that English language doesn't feel so close to

me. I think that if I heard it and it would become a part of my life, speaking English would get easier. **If I used it, it would become easier and the shyness and the fear of freezing up would vanish.**" (1, female, high CA)

"It's just that **I'm not used to speaking English**, – – so it feels a bit scary to start, especially to start a conversation in English, I mean, I rather just answer questions, for example." (5, male, high CA)

8.1.2. The Lack of Oral Practise in English Classes

One reason why the interviewees lacked practise and experience of speaking English could well be the EFL classes. Despite the communicative goals in the Finnish foreign language curricula (LOPS 2003; POPS 2004), the EFL classes described by the interviewees focused more on the written language. The oral exercises that first came to the interviewees' mind were translation and question-answer interaction. Free conversation and authentic communicative practise took place much more infrequently, if at all:

"Well, we usually have these, I don't know if you call them A-B –sheets, the other one is A and the other one is B, your partner tries to translate a sentence from Finnish into English and you have the correct answer. And then **we usually just read the chapters or do translation exercises** in the book in pairs or alone. **Free conversations are quite rare.**" (1, female, high CA)

"It's nothing special, pretty traditional, I mean, repeating words, small conversations... quite **grammar-centred**. – – Pair exercises are by and large the most common, we have papers and we translate sentences or fill in the gaps, and the other one has the right answers... – – then sometimes we have speeches and presentations." (7, female, low CA)

"We read the chapters in pairs or do these so-called A-B –exercises... **we don't really speak much at all.**" (11, male, low CA)

"It's pretty boring, I don't learn anything special... the classes have been even more needless now in the upper secondary school, I mean, **we just do the exercises**. I feel that **you don't get to use English**, especially if your classmates are shy or anxious... so you never get to practise it and then you don't speak English for a whole year." (10, female, low CA)

Most (4 out of 5) of the low apprehensive interviewees reported that they also practise speaking outside school with foreign friends or relatives or with their Finnish-speaking friends just for fun. One interviewee with low CA even actively sought for situations where she could speak English. In contrast, the interviewees with high CA spoke English much more infrequently on their free time. Only one out of the six high apprehensives reported using English relatively much. For the high apprehensives, the EFL classes were thus more or less the only context to practise their English. Judging by the interviewees' reports, the oral practise they got was rather limited. This is supported by the fact that more oral practise was on almost everyone's (10 out of 11)

wish list. Even though the interviewees acknowledged the need of written practise for the matriculation examination, they criticized the classes for placing too much emphasis on grammar and written language. One interviewee (#10) wished for more practical, authentic oral practise, and another one (#4) asserted that reaching grammatical flawlessness is not all that language learning is about – instead, one has to be able to put the skills into use and have an everyday conversation:

“[I hope] we had a practical exercise or something like that. It’s really hard to explain because **I’ve never really been given a chance to do that kind of exercises**. – – [When I speak English] I use words that are too difficult and that I can’t even pronounce properly because I’ve only read them from a book.” (10, female, low CA)

“I wish for more oral practise, because I think it’s not in balance with the written practise at all... **sometimes there are classes where we don’t speak at all**. It’s all about exercises and grammar issues. – – I think roughly one third of the whole course is spoken practise, or not even that much.” (7, female, low CA)

“The classes should be much longer because it would take so much time to put up a conversation – – but **practise would be helpful**.” (6, female, high CA)

“I think it would be nice if we talked more English and had **exercises where you wouldn’t be able to switch to Finnish at all**. – – I think a lot of Finns would need that.” (8, female, low CA)

“The writing and speaking ratio in classes is something like 80 versus 20 percent. We have so much written work. It’s just like one [oral] exercise and after that we do six written exercises from the book. – – **It would be much more beneficial for me to get more oral practise**, because then I would learn. If I go abroad it doesn’t matter at all if I know something like the present participle, but **what matters is that I can have an ordinary conversation and speak about everyday matters**... I think foreigners don’t pay much attention to what mistakes I make.” (4, female, high CA)

All interviewees (11 out of 11) were of the opinion that their oral English proficiency would improve through practise. All of the high apprehensives (5 out of 5) also believed their CA would decrease through positive experiences. Many interviewees based these views on personal experiences. Interviewee #10 mentioned, for example, that her concerns over how she sounds vanished after a language course in England:

“**At first I was pretty shy in the language course**, I didn’t have the courage to speak – – but **in the end it started to come naturally**. I didn’t have to actively think about what to say so much anymore”. (1, female, high CA).

“When I was in the States I was **quite shy at first**, but **when I relaxed a bit it** [speaking English] **became easier**”. (2, female, high CA)

“At first I always stutter and make more mistakes but when I’ve been speaking English for a while, it becomes easier and **I rediscover the courage to speak** and don’t mind about mistakes anymore”. (8, female, low CA)

“My English is a bit rusty now that I haven’t spoken it for a while, but **if I speak it for two days or something, it becomes more natural**. – – I haven’t really been concerned about how I sound in English after [the language course in] Oxford”. (10, female, low CA)

One interviewee (see #6 below) did not wish for more oral practise in EFL classes simply because she was so apprehensive about speaking English – she admitted that she needed to practise, but did not want to do this in the class context. The interviewee avoided speaking English because the risk of making mistakes made her feel apprehensive and uncomfortable. This demonstrates clearly how CA can inhibit learning: because of the fear of mistakes and CA, the student avoided communication situations and limited her chances to gain positive experiences of speaking the language (cf. Horwitz 1986: 127–128; see also section 2.4.):

“In a way it’s good that I don’t make mistakes and end up feeling embarrassed, but on the other hand, if I had answered correctly... – – it’s like, **if I’m afraid of making a mistake and then don’t raise my hand, I loose the opportunity to excel a bit** – – and give the impression to the teacher that I’m active in classes.” (6, female, high CA)

8.1.3. Insufficient English Proficiency: True Self vs. Limited Self

Previous research findings have been controversial as regards the relationship of native language CA and foreign language CA. The present data supports Horwitz’s (1986) and Nuto’s (2003: 63–64) findings about the two as fundamentally distinct phenomena. All except one of the highly apprehensive interviewees (4 out of 5) reported having no CA in native language classes. In contrast, they saw themselves as rather talkative and sociable when speaking Finnish both in classes and outside:

“I’m completely different in other classes. I mean, I’ve got grade 10 in Finnish – – the other classes are **much more relaxed** in my view, and **I can actually breathe** in those classes. – – Let’s say that if I studied geography in English, well... it would be quite fun, but I wouldn’t speak so much during those classes. – – I’m rather **talkative** and **sociable**, so it’s not that... I’m **shy only during foreign language classes**.” (3, female, high CA)

“I’m usually really **reticent in English classes**, whereas **in other classes the teachers have to tell me to shut up** – – it’s because of the teacher and the fact that English just doesn’t come automatically... so I just stay silent.” (4, female, high CA)

“Of course I’m more at ease when I speak Finnish, – – I can say more. If I speak only English people may get a pretty **narrow picture of what I’m like**. – – All in all, **I’m more sociable in Finnish**. (1, female, high CA)

“I can speak Finnish so much better and I also think in Finnish, so, I’m also a more confident speaker in Finnish.” (6, female, high CA)

“[I’m a different person in English] because my vocabulary isn’t as wide as in Finnish and I can’t **convey my real personality** through speaking... so the speech is more fact-oriented – – and a bit more superficial.” (7, female, low CA)

“If I have to speak English I’m a bit shy at first. But in Finnish I have no problems with that.” (8, female, low CA)

The quotes above also demonstrate what Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986: 128) call the discrepancy between the ‘true self’ and the ‘limited self’ (see also section 2.5.5.). When the foreign language speaker has to use a limited range of linguistic capacity to formulate the message, humour, irony and other personal flavours become difficult to convey. Researchers believe this can cause anxiety and apprehension especially for talkative and sociable personalities with no native language CA and a low self-assessed foreign language proficiency (cf. Horwitz et al. 1986: 128).

All in all, foreign or English language CA does not necessarily co-occur with native language CA. However, given the quote below, severe CA in the native language may still indicate an apprehensive tendency towards different communication situations regardless of the language:

“I’m **generally really apprehensive about speaking in public**, it’s just really awkward and makes me nervous. – – And if I’m anxious about speaking in some situation, then it just doesn’t work out, neither in Finnish nor English.” (2, female, high CA)

8.1.4. The Concern Over Errors

In earlier studies, one of the main causes of English language CA and anxiety in EFL classes has been the students’ fear or concern over errors. The present data supports this finding. The quantitative data showed that the high apprehensives were more concerned about errors than the low apprehensives. Likewise, feelings of fear and panic over errors were more common among the highly apprehensive interviewees (mentioned by 3 out of 6), while all of the low apprehensives (5 out of 5) together with the remaining three (3) high apprehensives displayed more or less relaxed attitudes: they felt embarrassed for a while, tried to correct the mistake and got over it pretty easily.

“[Making mistakes] **doesn’t really bother me**, only the fact that I might be misunderstood and I wonder if I should correct the mistake or not. – – The other students are so relaxed. If someone makes a mistake,

people either laugh or don't even pay attention. And usually just my friends laugh. It doesn't bother me at all." (11, male, low CA)

"I **feel quite embarrassed**, but I just try to correct the mistake. – I **usually get over these linguistic issues pretty easily**, because you just make so many mistakes all the time." (10, female, low CA)

"I get over [mistakes] very easily, I don't stress out. – It doesn't matter. **I learn from them.**" (9, female, low CA)

"I don't mind – I might correct myself later like 'oh true, I made a mistake', but **it doesn't matter**. – When I realise [the mistake] I feel a bit embarrassed, but if the other person doesn't react to it in any way, I just try to act normal." (8, female, low CA)

"So many students make mistakes, and I'm not a shy person, so **it doesn't really bother me.**" (4, female, high CA)

"[When I make a mistake] **I feel embarrassed** for a while – but then I correct it myself and continue from there. I'm a kind of perfectionist so I just have to get it right." (1, female, high CA)

"I feel embarrassed for a moment, but **I just think that everybody's not perfect...** so it doesn't matter." (6, female, high CA)

"Well, usually **I just laugh at myself... sometimes I take [mistakes] really hard**, but I just have to endure them." (3, female, high CA)

"**It's a total catastrophe** if I make a mistake... – if I notice it myself, it bothers me really much. I rather just avoid speaking. – I'm really anxious about making mistakes." (2, female, high CA)

"**I'm afraid of making mistakes**, and I don't have the courage to say exactly what I think, because I try to speak as correctly as possible." (5, male, high CA)

As for long-term effects, the high apprehensives generally tried to avoid future mistakes by avoiding speaking in English altogether, whereas the low apprehensives generally viewed mistakes as a learning situation and tried even harder next time. This is supported by earlier research findings (see e.g. Nuto 2003: 74):

"**Mistakes bother me for a long time afterwards**, I'm like, 'damn I should have said this and that' – and next time I try even harder to avoid them. – In a way, **speaking English would be good for me**, but then somehow I just think that I will pass the test anyway, so let's just skip the speaking part, 'I don't have to'... like, **'it's better to stay silent so there's no way to screw it up'**. – It's just easier to avoid the situations altogether where the risk of making mistakes is high." (2, female, high CA)

"I just think that next time I'm gonna try to use the same thing again, in the correct form. That's what I aim at." (8, female, low CA)

As for the quantitative data, in the questionnaire the respondents were asked to evaluate their reactions to and concern over errors in EFL classes with seven (7) items (36, 43, 47, 48, 53, 55, 56; see Appendix 1) that I combined into a scale (ERR; see section 6.3.1.), the mean score of which determined the respondent's level of concern. Both the theoretical and empirical mean scores ranged from 1.0 to 6.0. I measured the

connection between the respondents' CA level and the concern over errors by calculating Pearson's correlation coefficients and by conducting a one-way analysis of variance (one-way ANOVA) that allowed me to compare the mean scores of the three different CA groups. The correlation was statistically significant ($r = .724$, $p < 0.01$). The one-way ANOVA also showed clearly that the high apprehensives were more concerned over errors than the low apprehensives. The difference between the mean scores was statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) for the three CA groups [$F(2, 119)=37.00$, $p=.00$], which was further confirmed by the post hoc comparisons (Tukey HSD) (low CA $M=2.32$, $SD=.69$; moderate CA $M=3.17$, $SD=.70$; high CA $M=4.32$, $SD=.77$). The correlation is illustrated by figure 4.

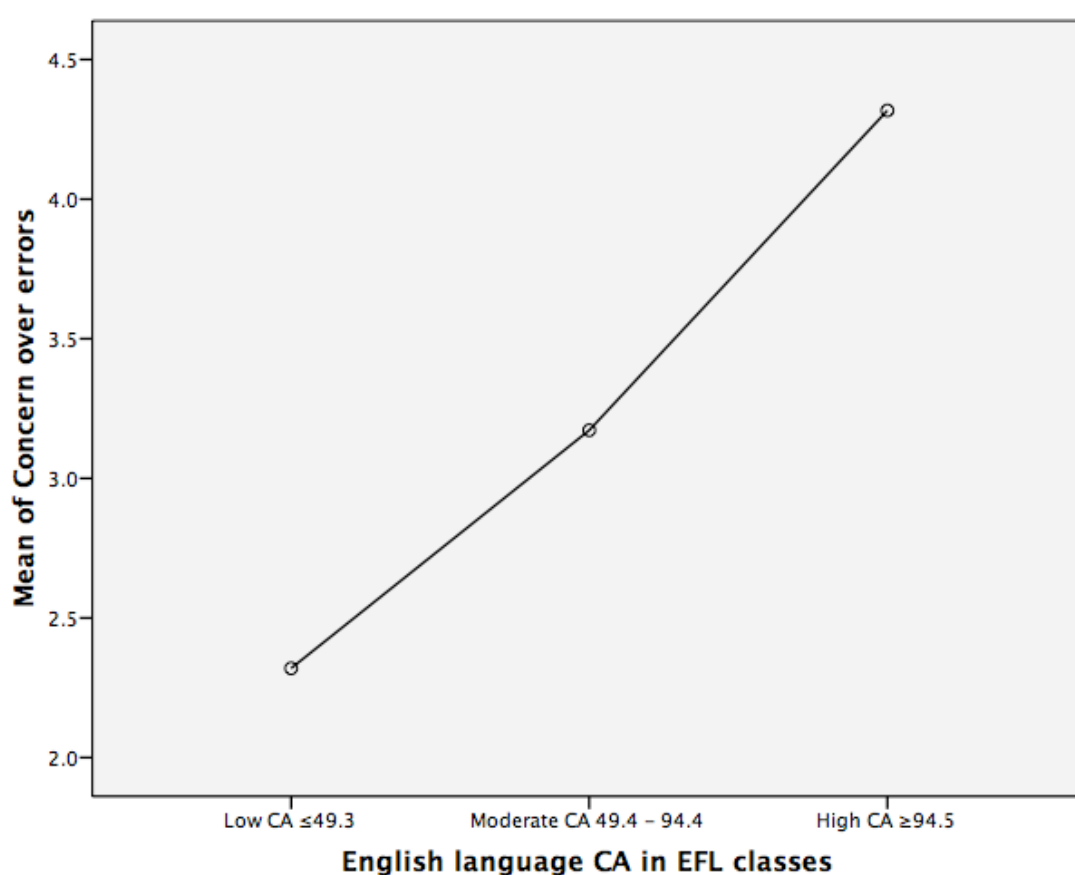


Figure 4: The concern over errors according to the level of English language CA in EFL classes.

8.1.5. Teacher's Error Correction

In addition to the students' own attitudes and reactions to errors, the teachers' attitudes and excessive error correction have been found to have an impact on foreign language CA. Previous studies indicate that CA and anxiety increase when the teachers correct students in a nonsupportive manner (Horwitz et al. 1986; Young 1990; Nuto 2003: 69—71) and when they believe their primary role is to correct students and not to facilitate learning (Brandl 1987).

Interestingly, the present data did not demonstrate any kind of consistent pattern as regards the interviewees' reactions to error correction by the teacher. Some interviewees (see #3, #6, #9 and #10 below) felt embarrassed and anxious about sounding stupid or inept in front of everyone, while some (see #7 and #5 below) just felt grateful for the teacher's remarks and regarded them as constructive feedback. The CA level did not play a part in how the interviewee viewed error correction. All interviewees also valued error correction regardless of how it made them feel. One interviewee (#4) did point out, however, that positive feedback was scarce:

"I feel quite embarrassed when the teacher corrects me." (3, female, high CA)

"It feels quite terrible if the teacher starts to correct me in front of everyone... because **everyone will then think that I'm inept** and I'm going to feel miserable for the rest of the lesson." (6, female, high CA)

"It bothers me if the teacher corrects me in front of everyone, but not when there's just the two of us." (10, female, low CA)

"Well, it's important to be corrected, but I think that **sometimes the teacher could say something positive as well**." (4, female, high CA)

"It's good that the teacher corrects my pronunciation for example, but I do think afterwards that 'I would've known that, it wasn't intentional, **please don't correct me**'. (2, female, high CA)

"I think it [teacher correction] **rather makes me relieved than discomforted**, because then I can continue with my talking." (7, female, low CA)

"Sometimes I don't care and sometimes it's embarrassing, because everyone is listening and watching if I say something wrong." (9, female, low CA)

"It [teacher correction] is not a problem for me. I rather think it's **constructive feedback**... I want to learn new all the time and I know that the teacher is just helping me learn." (5, male, high CA)

"I want to pronounce correctly, and **it doesn't matter if the teacher corrects me**, because I want to get it right when I speak to an English-speaking person." (8, female, low CA)

8.1.6. External Demands and Expectations for Oral English Performance

The data suggested that the concern over errors and the resulting feelings of CA and anxiety about speaking English were connected to the teacher's and other people's high and somewhat unrealistic expectations and demands. Many interviewees felt that English was a basic skill everyone was expected to know. They reckoned that numerous errors and poor skills increased English language CA and anxiety because they signalled to the others that the student failed to meet the norm and that he or she was somehow 'substandard' or 'inept', almost illiterate. This is in line with Nuto's (2003: 47, 82) findings: poor English skills made her interviewees feel stupid and inferior to the others.

The pressure to succeed in front of others was equally great for the high apprehensives and low apprehensives. The high apprehensives felt distressed about sounding inept because of their poor self-assessed proficiency while the low apprehensives felt they were compelled to maintain and demonstrate their high level of proficiency to the others:

"Everyone, including the teacher, expects that **of course upper secondary students can speak fluent English...** and the other students expect that of course you can speak English as fluently as them, if they are much better at it... they expect that you're not in the same level as in the primary school. -- English is such a universal language, **it's something everyone should master...** you don't necessarily have to know about history or the like, but people think that English is a basic skill." (6, female, high CA)

"My apprehension about speaking English has developed over the years. -- It's probably because the pressure [to succeed] and **the expectations become higher and higher, and I should be better and better all the time.**" (2, female, high CA)

"**Some people think it's ridiculous if someone can't speak English.** -- I think that in my age group it's like a basic skill, **almost as if you were illiterate** if you didn't know English." (3, female, high CA)

"Quite many people know that I'm really meticulous about correct pronunciation and **that's why I don't want to make pronunciation errors myself.**" (8, female, low CA)

"It's maybe the fact that I set demands on myself, and the others do that as well, **because they know that I can pronounce English really well**, or that I speak really fluently, **so maybe they expect just that.** -- And then I get the feeling that people are just watching and waiting for me to screw it up." (9, female, low CA)

Other people's expectations also worked the other way round. One of the highly apprehensive interviewees described a situation when nobody expected her to speak good English. Consequently, she did not feel as apprehensive about it as usual:

“When we went to the States, they had expected that we would speak English a lot worse than we did, and they were really surprised about our skills, like ‘you speak really well, we understand everything, we can actually speak with you!’ – – So it was really easy to talk to them.” (2, female, high CA)

Interviewee #9 pointed out in the earlier quote that besides the external demands set by others, she also set high demands on herself. The present study thus supported the finding that foreign language CA can often be connected to perfectionist attitudes and high self-set standards and demands (see e.g. Horwitz 1996; Gregersen & Horwitz 2002: 568; Nuto 2003: 43–44). I will discuss this in the following subsection.

8.1.7. Internal Demands for Oral English Performance

Besides external demands and expectations, the interviewees’ English language CA also seemed to derive from the high demands and standards they set for themselves. High demands basically denote the internal pressure to speak flawless and error-free English. Perfectionist attitudes and concerns were reported almost exclusively by the high apprehensives, while the low apprehensives were much more relaxed:

“I have no problems speaking in front of others **if I speak flawlessly**.” (6, female, high CA)

“I want to keep up a certain level and it bothers me if [my grades] drop... – – and it causes stress if I feel that my level is declining.” (2, female, high CA)

“**Speaking flawlessly is not an issue for me**, I don’t stress out about mistakes or about saying something wrong, it’s never been a big thing for me. – – I’m ambitious but not to the extremes. – – Communication is based on cooperation, anyway.” (7, female, low CA)

The highly apprehensive interviewees reported on many occasions that it was not the other students or the teacher but actually themselves who could not deal with errors and failure when speaking English. This finding was in line with earlier research on foreign language CA and anxiety (see e.g. Horwitz et al. 1986: 127–128; Gregersen & Horwitz 2002: 568; Nuto 2003: 74–76):

“Somehow I feel that it’s me who is afraid of failure, and not the other people’s reaction. – – I can’t remember a situation where I had been talking in front of the class and everyone had laughed at me, no, that feels completely alien, but it’s rather the fact that **I desire to be good at it...** and that affects me more. – – **I’m not afraid of people laughing at me, but rather of the fact that I’m disappointed at myself in that situation.**” (2, female, high CA)

“I’m a kind of perfectionist, **I’ve always been one of the best students**, and then, **if I don’t get the highest grades all of a sudden it creates anxiety and worry.**” (1, female, high CA)

“I believe that we are allowed to make mistakes. **It’s just my own attitude towards myself, that I cannot make mistakes or hesitate.** – – It kind of disturbs me that I still find I’m really bad at English, and then again I should be better all the time, and I keep comparing myself to the other students.” (3, female, high CA)

“I set plenty of demands for myself, you can probably see that from my certificate, like, I’m the kind of person who really studies for an exam until five o’clock in the morning. – – So **it’s me, really me and myself who places the demands for myself,** it’s inside my head. – – And compared to all the other subjects that I excel at, **I get the lowest grades in English.**” (4, female, high CA)

Interviewees #2, #4 and #1 also implied that their CA in English also emanated from the discrepancy between their high standards and their low English proficiency or grades. School success was really important for most of the high apprehensives: for example, interviewees #4 and #1 got the highest grades in all other subjects except English. Their poor self-assessed English proficiency very likely conflicted with how competent they saw themselves as students overall.

Keeping up flawless and error-free oral performance is likely to pose extreme difficulties for foreign language learners with a limited linguistic capacity. Spoken language is, after all, characterized by hesitation, pauses, errors and self-correction (cf. Tiittula 1992a: 5, 1992b: 68–81; Bygate 2001: 17; Harjanne 2006: 28). Nevertheless, these were the exact features that the highly apprehensive interviewees wished to avoid, seeing them as signs of failure and incompetence. Earlier studies (Manninen 1984; Price 1991; Salo-Lee 1991; Tsui 1996; Nuto 2003) have indicated that these unrealistic demands could derive partly from the lack of authentic oral practise in EFL classes, because in the absence of authentic spoken models, foreign language learners are likely to assess their oral proficiency against the norms of written language (cf. Salo-Lee 1991; Yli-Renko 1991).

Some scholars (e.g. Gardner & MacIntyre 1993) have claimed that highly apprehensive students are generally less motivated to learn English. The present data suggested otherwise. All of the interviewees saw English as one of the most important school subjects, if not the most important. Moreover, being able to speak English fluently was extremely highly valued by all of the eleven interviewees. The students’ ineptitude in something they considered extremely important gave rise to apprehension and insecurity, as described by the highly apprehensive interviewee #2:

“I want to maintain a high standard in all of the school subjects that I consider important or that I’m good at, and therefore **I feel the pressure to succeed**. – – School success has always been important for me. It’s not my whole life, but **school success and school grades have always played a part in how I value myself** – – and that’s why I want to keep up a certain standard [in English] so that my grades wouldn’t drop and I’d feel like a total piece of crap.” (2, female, high CA)

8.1.8. Negative Outcome Expectations

Researchers have asserted that numerous unsuccessful communicative attempts in a foreign language tend to give rise to negative outcome expectations and communication avoidance (e.g. McCroskey 1997b; Nuto 2003). The present data supported this finding. Many highly apprehensive interviewees described that they were certain they would stutter, hesitate or make mistakes when asked to speak English. One interviewee (#1) described how she was certain she would fail an English presentation completely, and seemed surprised about the fact that she did not:

“I’m certain that I’ll just start hesitating like ‘ummm, errrr’, **and then I can’t utter a single word**, and the teacher goes, ‘could someone help her out’ – – when she does that I feel that I’m totally inept at English, because the others actually have to help me to formulate an answer.” (6, female, high CA)

“I didn’t expect that [the presentation] would go so well. I just waited for it to be done with, nothing else mattered... but **it went well and I passed the course, something I honestly didn’t expect**.” (1, female, high CA)

Nuto (2003: 74) has had similar findings on Finnish university students with a high English language CA: they assessed their communicative abilities very negatively and expected an unsuccessful outcome for all communicative attempts in English. Thus, they avoided communication in English altogether. The interviewees of the present study reported, likewise, that they rather avoided the communicative situations where they could make mistakes than failed and embarrassed themselves in front of everyone.

In contrast, the reports of two highly apprehensive interviewees (#5 and #7) implied that successful communicative attempts could actually decrease English language CA significantly. The students felt they got the message through despite their limited proficiency. Interviewee #7 also reported that her mistakes were actually not corrected at all:

“If I succeed really well in a situation I will remember it afterwards. Then if I think at some point that I cannot speak English at all, I remember that I have actually succeeded and seen myself as a fluent English speaker previously”. (5, male, high CA)

“We presented our programme to the Belgians, and after that I felt really good about speaking English. – I could practise my skills so much that English just started to flow... and people also really understood me, in situations where I couldn’t correct myself in Finnish. – – Correct forms didn’t really matter, I wasn’t afraid of making mistakes and they didn’t laugh at me. And there was also the fact that me and another person shared the responsibility for giving the presentation, so we could support each other, which was a really good thing.” (7, female, high CA)

8.1.9. The Concern over Evaluation

Besides being concerned over errors, the students were concerned about the fact that their oral English performance was more or less constantly evaluated in EFL classes, both by the teacher and the peer group. Their English language CA thus seemed to derive partly from the inherent characteristic of foreign language classes: the interviewees had a feeling of being constantly under the teacher’s and the peer group’s evaluative eyes. Consequently, they felt that in order to maintain their standard or good grades and to respond to the other students’ and the teacher’s assumed high expectations, they had to do their best every time they opened their mouth in English in the class. According to the interviewees, the pressure to succeed under these conditions was sometimes too enormous, hence leading to feelings of apprehension and anxiety:

“It’s much more difficult to speak in the English classes because it’s not relaxed. **It’s just about demonstrating your skills to the teacher, and if you make a mistake you feel bothered about it.** There’s no such evaluation involved in situations outside the classes. In classes you have to do your best all the time. – – When I speak English with friends, it comes more naturally and effortlessly because **I don’t have to prove anything**, nobody will give me a final grade for it.” (2, female, high CA)

“It would be completely different to speak English at work, for example, because there’s no teacher who evaluates my performance. **I don’t have to feel anxious about it if there’s no teacher in the background.**” (1, female, high CA)

“There’s a great difference between speaking English in classes and outside classes, because **in the class you’re always subjected to evaluation in a way.** It has an impact on your grade, at least to some extent. And of course, when you’re surrounded by people of your age, **the pressure to succeed is greater than in other contexts**, I mean, in your free time – – because you know that everybody’s young and **young people tend to criticize and compare and compete.** – – I feel slightly apprehensive about speaking English in classes, but when I speak English outside the classes, I feel much more relaxed because **I don’t have to demonstrate my skills to any evaluative group or the teacher.**” (7, female, low CA)

“It’s really difficult for me to speak in the English classes because **everybody’s sort of listening if I speak correctly or incorrectly...** It’s such an **enormous pressure.** – – When I was in Thailand I didn’t even pay attention to how I speak, I just wanted to be understood.” (3, female, high CA)

The quantitative data demonstrated, likewise, that the high apprehensives were much more concerned about evaluation than the low apprehensives. The respondents were asked to evaluate their concern over evaluation in EFL classes with three (3) items (41,

50, 51; see Appendix 1) that were combined into a scale (EVAL; see section 6.3.1.), the mean score of which denoted the respondent's level of concern. I measured the connection between the respondents' CA level and the concern over evaluation by Pearson's correlation coefficients and by a one-way analysis of variance (one-way ANOVA). The correlation was statistically significant ($r = .755$, $p < 0.01$). The one-way ANOVA also indicated statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) differences between the mean scores for the three CA groups [$F(2, 119) = \dots$, $p = .00$]. This was further confirmed by the post hoc comparisons (Tukey HSD) (low CA $M = 1.65$, $SD = .61$; moderate CA $M = 2.56$, $SD = .92$; high CA $M = 4.4$, $SD = 1.1$). Figure 5 illustrates the relationship more clearly.

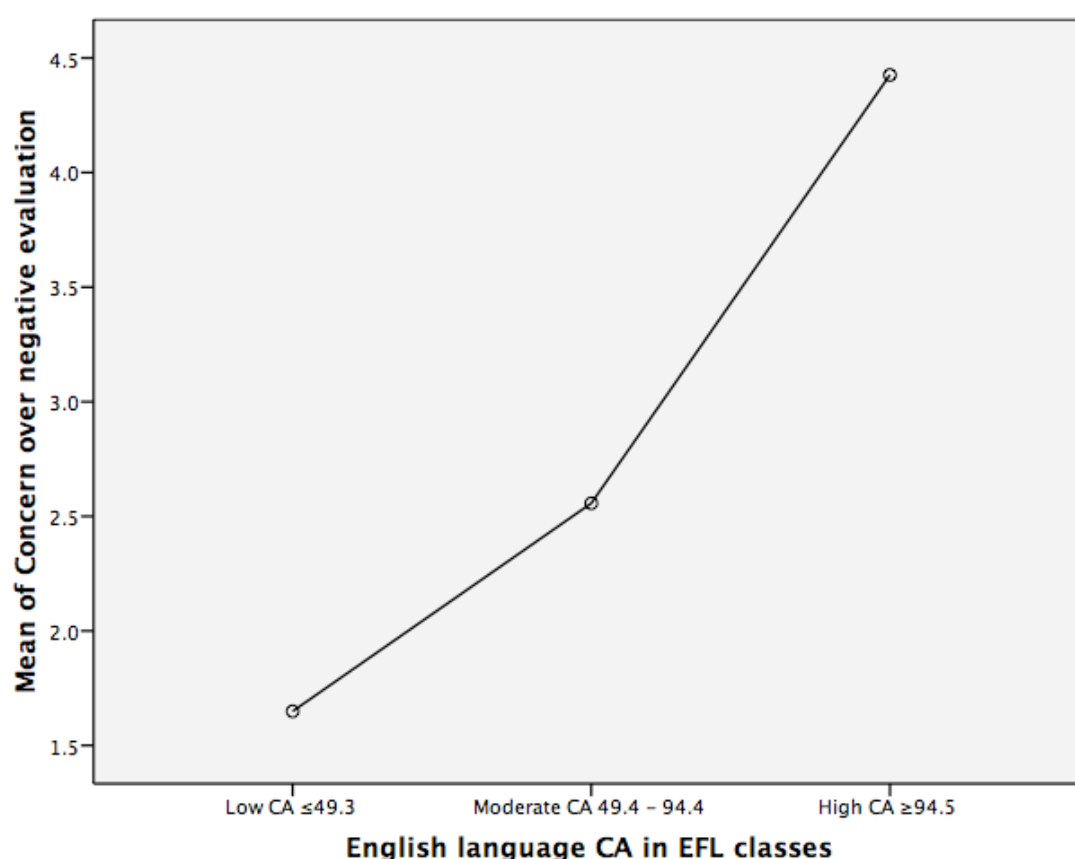


Figure 5: The concern over evaluation according to the English language CA in EFL classes.

The interviews further implied that English language CA was likely to increase especially when the evaluator – the teacher – was present. As soon as the teacher disappeared or was not listening to pair conversations, for example, the interviewees

found it easier to speak English. The interviewees also compared EFL classes to communicative situations outside classes to emphasize the fundamental difference between the two contexts: speaking English was considered much more anxiety-arousing under evaluation. This could explain why 68.9% of the respondents (n = 122) reported feeling more confident about speaking English outside EFL classes in the pilot study (Korpela 2010: 30; see also section 4.2.).

8.1.10. The Concern over the Impression Made on Others

The interviewees generally felt that they were being constantly evaluated by the teacher and the peer group. When they spoke English in classes, the pressure to succeed – that is, maintaining one’s own standards and good grades as well as meeting other students’ and the teacher’s expectations – was intertwined with the pressure to convey a good impression on the teacher and the peers. Basically, the interviewees, both the high and the low apprehensives, were concerned about what the others would think about their potential mistakes and clumsy English, being fully aware that among people of their age, English was viewed as such a basic skill that not handling it was almost the same as being declared ‘stupid’ (see also section 8.1.6.). The interviewees referred to this concern on numerous occasions when they were analysing why they felt apprehensive about speaking English in classes:

“I convey such a bad impression on others because I cannot speak English. That’s why I wish my partner would be a bit worse than me when we do pair work.” (6, female, high CA)

“I try to speak as correctly as possible, and if I make a mistake I start wondering if the others see me as inept, as a beginner, even though I know I am better than that. – – I don’t aim at perfect English, but... I still want to speak as correct English as possible, grammatically correct and fluent, so that people will understand me without difficulty. **And also because of my image,** so that people would get the idea that I have studied English for a long time.” (5, male, high CA)

“It’s just that I’m afraid that I’ll make a mistake and then everyone will see me as weird or silly or something.” (2, female, high CA)

“[When I make a mistake], I might wonder that now those people think that I cannot handle this at all.” (11, male, low CA)

The self-presentational theory of social anxiety by Leary and Kowalski (1995) offers some insight into why speaking English to the teacher and the peer group has great potential to arouse CA. According to Leary and Kowalski (1995: 19–23), if there is no need to make an impression on the listeners – for example, if they are all friends or

family members – the speaker is less likely to feel anxious. However, talking to a peer group and a teacher involves a great degree of attention and evaluation from people who the speaker wants to impress somehow. In such a situation, all possible errors reveal the speaker's incompetence. Errors or clumsy English have potential to make the speaker feel embarrassed and inferior to others and give rise to the concern over being evaluated as 'stupid' or 'inept'. (cf. Leary & Kowalski 1995.) Oral proficiency is, after all, viewed as a crucial mediator of one's public image (cf. Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 128).

8.1.11. Prior Teachers and Prior Experiences

Earlier studies have showed that prior negative experiences and discouraging prior teachers can contribute significantly to foreign language CA (e.g. Manninen 1984: 80; Yli-Renko 1991; Nuto 2003: 87). The present data supported this finding. The interviews suggested that prior teachers and prior experiences had a significant effect on English language CA. While the low apprehensive interviewees had either positive or neutral recollections of prior teachers, the highly apprehensive interviewees had solely neutral or bad memories. According to the interviewees, all of their bad memories stemmed from the secondary school and had an influence on their present feelings about speaking and learning English.

The prior experiences were fundamentally shaped by the teachers and their actions and attitudes. Two interviewees (#1 and #3) reported having a scary teacher in the secondary school who demanded too much and neither believed in the students' abilities nor gave positive feedback for good effort. Interviewee #3 also reported that the teacher used to compare her to her big brother, who spoke better English at the time. Overt comparison to someone superior made her feel horrible and embarrassed and obviously had a fundamental impact on her:

"The [secondary school English] teacher was really strict, maybe in the wrong way – – **she started to scare me**, you couldn't communicate with her – – she just gave orders and nothing else. **You always had to succeed** – – that was the only possibility, **she demanded incredibly much** – – and even if you succeeded for once, like worked really hard for something, she would say that you did not do this yourself. – – **My fear [of speaking English] comes down to those experiences** I think – – if the teacher had been really good, then my studies would've probably taken a completely different course. – – I felt that **no matter how hard I tried it was never enough**. – – **I was as quiet as I could be during those classes.**" (1, female, high CA)

“My experiences from the secondary school English classes are mainly negative. – – I had a terrible teacher in the secondary school, **she made me hate English**. – – She was just scary. She must’ve been a good teacher, and if I had her classes now I would probably cope... but I started to hate English because I was so bad at it back then, in the secondary school. – – The teacher was **really demanding**, and she also had a pretty **rough sense of humour**... I would handle it now but I was so timid back then, and English was a sensitive issue for me all in all. **I was ashamed that I didn’t know English so well**, because all my siblings were really good at English. – – **The teacher would compare me to my big brother**, like, ‘your big brother is so good at English’ and all. That felt horrible. – – She told me how my brother had made the same stuff much better than I... – – it felt **embarrassing**, because I couldn’t reach the same level. – – **The secondary school experiences affect my current studying** rather much. **Like the fact that I don’t volunteer to speak** in English classes. That derives from the secondary school.” (3, female, high CA)

The quotes above are the most blatant examples of how drastically the teacher’s conduct and attitudes can affect the students’ feelings about their abilities and about the subject. These students ended up feeling embarrassed and ashamed about their poor English – not a good starting point for successful foreign language studies. Interviewee #3 was already fully aware of her low English proficiency, and the teacher added to this feeling of inferiority by overtly comparing her to somebody more proficient. Both quotes also suggest a complete lack of positive feedback and demonstrate that negative prior experiences can contribute to high English language CA.

The teacher may also show comparisons indirectly by not helping less proficient students to find the correct answer, but by turning to a student who knows it for sure, as reported by the following interviewee:

“I had a friend who spoke perfect English, so the teacher would always ask her... so that the one who had answered incorrectly would feel embarrassed, like, **if you cannot answer this then let’s ask this girl who knows it all**”. (1, female, high CA)

In comparison, the interviewees with low CA had mainly positive or neutral recollections of prior teachers. They had been encouraging, motivating, relaxed and friendly towards the students. Consequently, they had exerted a positive influence on the interviewees’ attitudes and feelings:

“I started to like English when we got a teacher from Phoenix in the sixth grade... she was really **encouraging** and I used to talk really much in those classes. – – I’ve liked English so much more after that grade”. (8, female, low CA)

“I had the same teacher in the primary and secondary school and she was really good, she even had a British accent. Her classes were **interesting** and **motivating**. – – She was really **friendly**, like, she wasn’t just a teacher. – – She wasn’t strict in any way, she was really **relaxed**, – – and when she spoke to us she used only English.” (9, female, low CA)

These results correspond with earlier research findings showing that negative experiences and recollections from school, discouraging past teachers and the lack of positive feedback all contribute to high foreign language CA (Manninen 1984; Price 1991; Hilleson 1996; Tsui 1996; Nuto 2003: 65–72). The fear of mistakes and the fear of being evaluated negatively can, likewise, be teacher-induced (Price 1991: 106; Tsui 1996: 152). I will explore this further in the following subsection.

8.1.12. The Current Teacher's Personality and Actions

Besides prior teachers, the interviewees reported that their current teachers also had an impact on their feelings about speaking and learning English. Their current experiences were both positive and negative, like the following quotes demonstrate:

“The current teachers are **friendly** and **take every student into account** – – and they **encourage** to learn and **praise** you if they notice that you’ve improved and worked hard.” (1, female, high CA)

“The teacher is a really **significant motivator** – – the influence the teacher has is surprisingly great.” (7, female, low CA)

“The teacher has **an enormous impact on the atmosphere**. My teacher changes pretty often, I have like three or four English teachers. – – It’s awfully quiet in some classes, like a really oppressive silence... everyone’s really serious. – – But in some classes the atmosphere is more playful and unreserved.” (3, female, high CA)

“I think our teacher is really **unfair** towards everybody... she’s an awesome teacher, like, she’s good at teaching, she knows everything and she can instruct very well... but she is a true **nitpicker** and it’s sometimes distressing. She **never praises you** but **always finds the mistakes** – –she praises only some students and then picks on the others.” (4, female, high CA)

Interestingly, interviewee #1 was highly apprehensive despite the fact that her current teacher was anything but discouraging. This suggests that her prior negative experiences presented in the previous section had left such an indelible mark on her that her CA endured.

According to Hilleson (1996: 272), the teacher’s attitude to errors and his or her personal characteristics, such as the sense of humour, patience and the ability to give positive feedback shape the students’ experiences and feelings of learning and using a foreign language. Moreover, teachers who place unrealistic demands on the students’ performance tend to inhibit students’ participation (Tsui 1996: 151). In Price’s study (1991: 106), the respondents complained accordingly that many instructors had made

the classes a performance occasion rather than a learning occasion. The last quote by interviewee #4 is a clear example of this. Her teacher mainly paid attention to mistakes and hardly ever gave positive feedback, thus discouraging her from participating.

In sum, the teacher behaviour that increased English language CA according to the interviewees was characterized by the following attributes:

The teacher

- demands too much from the students
- does not give enough praise or positive feedback equally to everyone
- always pays attention to the form instead of the message
- cannot communicate with the students in a relaxed and flexible way
- does not take the student's personality into account
- corrects mistakes or turn to a more proficient student instead of helping the students find the right answers themselves
- treats students unequally
- shows personal preferences over students.

8.1.13. The Size and Familiarity of Audience

The interviews also suggested that the intensity of English language CA was greatly affected by situational features, including the size and familiarity of audience. This was in line with earlier research findings and theory on CA (e.g. Buss 1980; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 162; Nuto 2003: 83–84). According to the interviewees, the size and familiarity of audience had a kind of joint influence on the incidence of English language CA, especially in presentation situations. The larger and the more unfamiliar the audience, the more likely the student was to feel apprehensive and anxious. However, the size of the audience made a difference only if the people were strangers. If most people in the audience were friends or acquaintances, the size of audience did not matter. In other words, speaking English to a familiar audience, no matter how large, did not increase CA as much as speaking to an audience full of unfamiliar people. Nuto (2003: 48) has had similar findings: in her study, the size of audience was

considered irrelevant among friends but not among strangers. The views and experiences of high and low apprehensives were similar in all respects:

“If the audience consists of people I know, I can speak fluently, but if it’s full of unfamiliar people, I know that [the presentation] won’t go well.” (9, female, low CA)

“**The more people, the more tension**... There might be a point when it doesn’t matter anymore, like if the number of people exceeds some limit... then it doesn’t matter if there are more people or less people, it feels just the same... but then again, performing to the whole school would be difficult.” (5, male, high CA)

“I don’t feel anxious about talking in pairs, but in small groups I feel anxious when I don’t know the people at all. I will just freeze up.” (1, female, high CA)

“If the room is **full of friends and acquaintances**, I **don’t feel apprehensive** and the presentation goes more fluently... but **if there are lots of unfamiliar people** that I haven’t spoken with, or boys of my age, the ones who are super sociable at school and who everyone knows and... **I feel more apprehensive** about speaking in front of them – **I’m concerned about what they think of me.**” (5, male, high CA)

Why does a large, unfamiliar audience increase English language CA, then? A feasible explanation could be drawn from the self-presentational theory of social anxiety by Leary and Kowalski (1995). The last quote shows very clearly that the student is concerned about what the audience thinks of him. In this case, the audience consists of people whose opinions make a difference to him, and assumedly, to many other students too – it is common to look up to popular boys and girls at that age. Because the speaker is unfamiliar with the audience, the picture he conveys of himself during that presentation is all they will know about him. If he failed somehow, this public self-image would be rather negative. (cf. Leary & Kowalski 1995: 19–23.) Consequently, the pressure to succeed and the fear of failure increase. When faced with a large unfamiliar audience, the interviewees felt they had to prove they were good at English, and as a result, CA and anxiety increased. The reports of the low and high apprehensives were, again, rather similar:

“It’s just so much easier to talk to acquaintances, in a way... It’s more relaxed, **I don’t have to show anything**. I don’t have to be like, “I can do this, you see?”. – – It’s just that **I’m afraid that I’ll make a mistake and then everyone will see me as weird or silly** or something.” (2, female, high CA)

“Let’s imagine that I was talking an unfamiliar partner... that’s so much easier, because – – there’s just the one person and... like if there’s a large group, **or even a small group but I don’t know them**, – – it’s much more difficult, because **there’s a lot more people who will notice if I fail**, but it **doesn’t matter if there’s only one person**. But **if it’s a group of friends, I can speak without any problems.**” (2, female, high CA)

“I feel most apprehensive if I know someone by face but have never talked to him, like if he’s just an acquaintance... then you’re afraid that if you fail, you might bump into him later... but **with friends I**

don't mind about embarrassing myself, I just take it easy. -- When there's more people, I start to feel anxious." (11, male, low CA)

"When I talk **with friends**, everything comes easier and more naturally, **I don't really think how I should pronounce this and that** and what I should say, like grammar issues and such." (5, male, high CA)

In conclusion, the familiarity of audience had a greater influence on English language CA than the size, but both affected the intensity of English language CA in the way suggested in table 4. A small or large unfamiliar audience was more likely to induce English language CA than a familiar audience of any size.

Table 4: The likelihood of English language CA with respect to the size and familiarity of audience.

The likelihood of English language CA: quite unlikely: - quite likely: + very likely: ++		THE SIZE OF AUDIENCE	
		Small	Large
THE FAMILIARITY OF AUDIENCE	Familiar	-	-
	Unfamiliar	+	++

8.1.14. The Conversation Partner's English Proficiency

Besides the size and familiarity of audience, the conversation partner's English proficiency affected the intensity of English language CA as well. This was demonstrated both by the quantitative and qualitative data. Starting with the former, the respondents (n = 121) were asked to evaluate with three (3) items (16, 20, 21; see Appendix 1) whether they felt anxious about talking English to someone more proficient in English. These three items constituted a scale (PART; see section 6.3.1.), the mean score of which determined the respondent's anxiety level. The theoretical mean score ranged from 0.0 to 6.0 and the empirical score from 0.7 to 6.0. To explore the connection between the CA level and the anxiety level, I calculated Pearson's correlation coefficients and conducted a one-way between-groups analysis of variance (one-way ANOVA). The analysis illustrated that the high apprehensives were more anxious than the low apprehensives about speaking English with someone more

proficient ($r = .582$, $p < 0.01$) (see figure 6). There was also a statistically significant difference at the $p < 0.05$ level in the mean scores for the three CA groups [$F(2, 119)=17.85$, $p=.00$]. Post-hoc comparisons (Tukey HSD) further confirmed this (low CA $M=2.96$, $SD=1.17$; moderate CA $M=3.95$, $SD=1.16$; high CA $M=5.20$, $SD=1.05$).

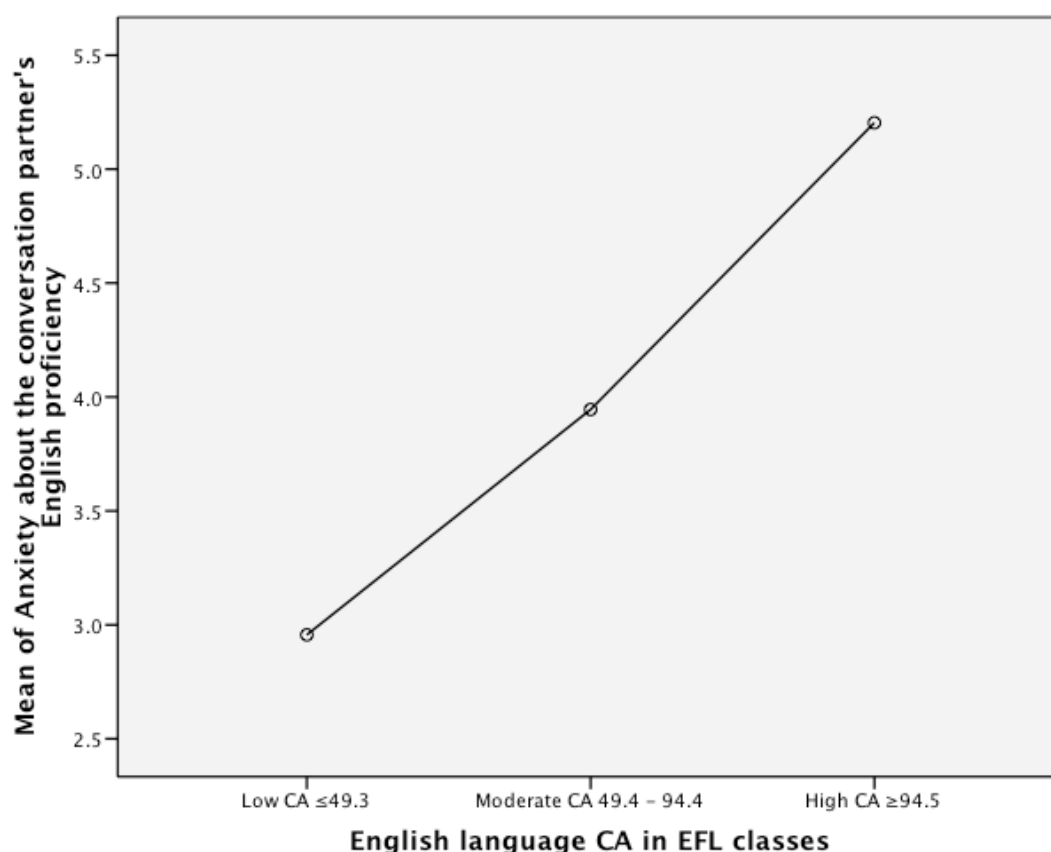


Figure 6: The anxiety about speaking English with more proficient speakers according to the English language CA level in EFL classes.

The interview data gave more depth to this finding. As expected, the highly apprehensive interviewees reported a greater concern about the conversation partner's English proficiency than the low apprehensives. For the high apprehensives, talking to someone with a higher proficiency evoked feelings of apprehension, shame, embarrassment and awkwardness. Hence they preferred speaking with someone whose skills were at the same level as theirs or lower, both in and outside EFL classes:

“I have quite many friends who are a lot better in English than me, but I don't mind about it... but if I'm talking with someone **less familiar** and he or she speaks better English, **I feel a bit awkward**. – – In the secondary school nobody spoke perfect English, everyone was more or less at the same level, but now

that we have the IB⁶ students, I'm like... 'ok maybe I won't say anything', -- if you talk English to someone with better skills **you're fully aware that the other one will notice all the mistakes.**" (4, female, high CA)

"I don't really have the courage to speak English to any Finns, except for my little sister... -- If I speak English to a Finn, I feel that it's like a competition about who speaks and understands English the best. -- I've been to Thailand a couple of times and there I speak English really openly, **because they are not good at English either...** so **I don't have to fear that I might say something wrong.** But if I speak to a native English speaker, I'm really apprehensive and careful." (3, female, high CA)

"For me it's harder to speak English with someone who is more fluent, **unless it's someone close to me, someone who doesn't care if I make a mistake...** friends and relatives are aware of my skill level -- so it's easier to talk to them, like, when they give me supportive lessons, but otherwise no. -- But if the other person speaks worse English than me, it's a completely different situation. Then I have the courage to speak. -- It's much easier of course -- **easier to ask the other person for support, like, because I'm not the only one who doesn't speak perfect English.**" (1, female, high CA)

"If I have to work with someone unfamiliar in the English class, someone who speaks worse English than me, **we can support each other**, or at least I feel that we can. -- Once I was paired up with a student who thought that she could skip all the courses because she was so good... she had such an arrogant attitude. It was really hard to cooperate with her, really terrible." (3, female, high CA)

"Many people say that I'm really good at English and that I have an American accent and so on... -- but my English is really clumsy with my friend's American boyfriend, because I know that he's good at it. -- **I'm afraid that he'll criticize me even though I know that he won't.**" (9, female, low CA)

The quotes above imply that the students' concern over the conversation partner's English proficiency is ultimately linked to the concerns over mistakes, negative evaluation and the impression made on others: better English speakers are bound to notice all the mistakes. One of the low apprehensives (interviewee #9) reported similar feelings: she spoke fluent English, but was still concerned about negative evaluation when talking to a native speaker.

Aida's (1994: 162) study has suggested that comfortableness about speaking the foreign language with native speakers is one of the features that influence the level of CA in foreign language classes. According to researchers, anxious students frequently compare their language production to that of others, which may lead to feelings of inferiority and a low self-esteem (Bailey 1983: 74; Hilleson 1996: 256). Horwitz et al. (1986) have pointed out accordingly that language learning has all the potential to challenge and threaten one's self-concept. This was evident in the present interview data. For example, interviewees #1 and #3 reckoned in the previous quotes that cooperation -- giving and asking for support -- was easier with those at the same

⁶ 'IB' stands for 'International Baccalaureate', an English-speaking study programme in the upper secondary school.

proficiency level. ‘Easier’ in this case can also mean ‘less embarrassing’. Both interviewees reported feeling ashamed of their deficient English proficiency, and asking openly for support from someone better would have just underlined the very fact that they did not know something they were supposed to know. Like interviewee #3 pointed out in the quote that follows, being bad at English was almost the same as being illiterate for people of her age. Interviewee #3 further reported that the peer pressure and other people’s scorn was hard to deal with, given the fact that her poor English had repeatedly been the subject of ridicule for her siblings, who were better English speakers. Again, her description exemplifies the fundamental effect that negative prior experiences and mockery can have on the foreign language learner:

“With unfamiliar people who are better than me, [I’m afraid that they think] I’m really useless... some people are like that. **They think it’s ridiculous if someone can’t speak English.** – – I think that in my age group it’s like a basic skill, **almost as if you were illiterate** if you didn’t know English. – – That stems pretty much from the fact that all my siblings speak really good English and they used to tease me about it... – – I took it really hard at the time, and **it left a kind of scar on me.** I feel like, **if I say something completely wrong, then everyone will think that** – – like, **I’m afraid that I will sound clumsy...** and then I do, I guess.” (3, female, high CA)

Interestingly, the highly apprehensive interviewees felt ashamed and awkward only when talking to better English speakers who were unfamiliar. According to the interviewees, this was mainly because familiar people were aware of their skill level or their CA in English, and thus they did not have to mind about mistakes, hesitation and stuttering. With unfamiliar, better English speakers, the high apprehensives were more concerned about potential mistakes and the risk of being evaluated negatively. This is why many of them wanted to be paired up with someone at the same level or lower in EFL classes:

“**I don’t feel apprehensive speaking with friends, no matter how good they are** at English. – – I have a friend in the same English course as me, and she’s much better than me, but still it’s so nice to study with her because **she understands this apprehension that I have** about speaking English.” (3, female, high CA)

“If the other person is familiar, I don’t mind about his or her better English... but **with unfamiliar people I feel ashamed.** – – You **convey such a bad picture of yourself** to others if you cannot speak... and that’s why **I wish the other student spoke worse English than me,** when we work in pairs – – because **I feel like a loser** if the other person is much better in English than me, and I’m like, constantly stuttering and stammering.” (6, female, high CA)

Most of the low apprehensives did not feel apprehensive about talking to someone with better English proficiency, most likely because they were usually the better part,

considering that all of them had a high self-assessed English proficiency. Interestingly, two of them actually preferred talking to native English speakers. According to these two interviewees, Finns were more inclined to focus on mistakes and criticize each other's English performance. Therefore, interviewee #11 felt he had to pay more attention to what he said to a Finn in English. We may wonder if this tendency could actually derive from EFL classes.

"It's much easier to speak English with a native speaker than with a Finn. It's maybe because **Finns criticize and mock you more openly**, but native speakers understand that you don't speak perfect English." (8, female, low CA)

"**When I speak English with a Finn, I usually think about [what I say]** quite a lot. But if I get to speak with a native speaker, I usually take it easy... I think that **he will understand me anyway, even if I make mistakes**... and actually, that's why I speak English more fluently with natives. I don't have to think about it so much." (11, male, low CA)

8.1.15. Task Features: Time for Preparation

So far I have focused on the reasons for English language CA in EFL classes from a more general perspective. Besides that, the intensity of English language CA seems to depend on what I chose to classify as situational task features. The intensity of CA can vary quite much during one single lesson depending on what kind of tasks are used and what anxiety-arousing features they incorporate. I will examine the task features further in section 8.2. Before that, I shall provide a brief summary of the findings that will also serve as a framework to the analysis in section 8.2.

First of all, the interviews and the questionnaire data illustrated that the less time there was to plan an utterance beforehand, the more likely the student was to experience English language CA. The pressure to succeed was too high, and the performance suffered accordingly:

"If someone tells me to speak English all of a sudden, -- I'm like 'noooo!'... **it just doesn't work if I'm forced to**. -- I just **freeze up completely**. -- There is **the pressure to succeed**. And then it just doesn't work, it's like a **vicious circle**." (2, female, high CA)

The majority of the interviewees saw that answering to the teacher's questions unexpectedly was highly anxiety-arousing. Instead, the interviewees wanted to plan their utterances beforehand. The reason was, as expected, the will to avoid mistakes, negative evaluation and feelings of shame. Some of the highly apprehensive

interviewees also expected unrealistically fluent and error-free oral performance from themselves, which was easier to accomplish by meticulous planning. The findings agreed with those of Nuto (2003: 44), who found that apprehensive students typically aim at perfect utterances and refuse to speak unless they have enough time to construct the utterance in advance:

“I speak English in classes only when I know for sure that I’ll get it right. – I usually plan what I’m going to say in advance, like, if I want to answer the teacher’s question, I repeat [the sentence] all the time so that it goes well – because I don’t want to make mistakes and feel embarrassed when the teacher starts to correct me.” (6, female, high CA)

The quantitative data supported the interviews. The respondents were asked to evaluate their feelings about speaking English unprepared in EFL classes with three (3) items (54, 63, 72; see Appendix 1). I combined these into a scale, the mean score of which determined the respondent’s level of anxiety. The theoretical and empirical mean scores both ranged from 1.0 to 6.0. I measured the connection between the CA level and the anxiety about speaking English unprepared by calculating Pearson’s correlation coefficients and by conducting a one-way analysis of variance (one-way ANOVA). The analysis showed clearly that the high apprehensives were more anxious about speaking English unprepared than the low apprehensives ($r = .739$, $p < 0.01$). The difference between the mean scores of the different CA groups was, likewise, statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) [$F(2, 119)=50.23$, $p=.00$], which was further confirmed by the post hoc comparisons (Tukey HSD) (low CA $M=1.81$, $SD=.80$; moderate CA $M=2.75$, $SD=.96$; high CA $M=4.74$, $SD=.85$). The relationship is illustrated by figure 7.

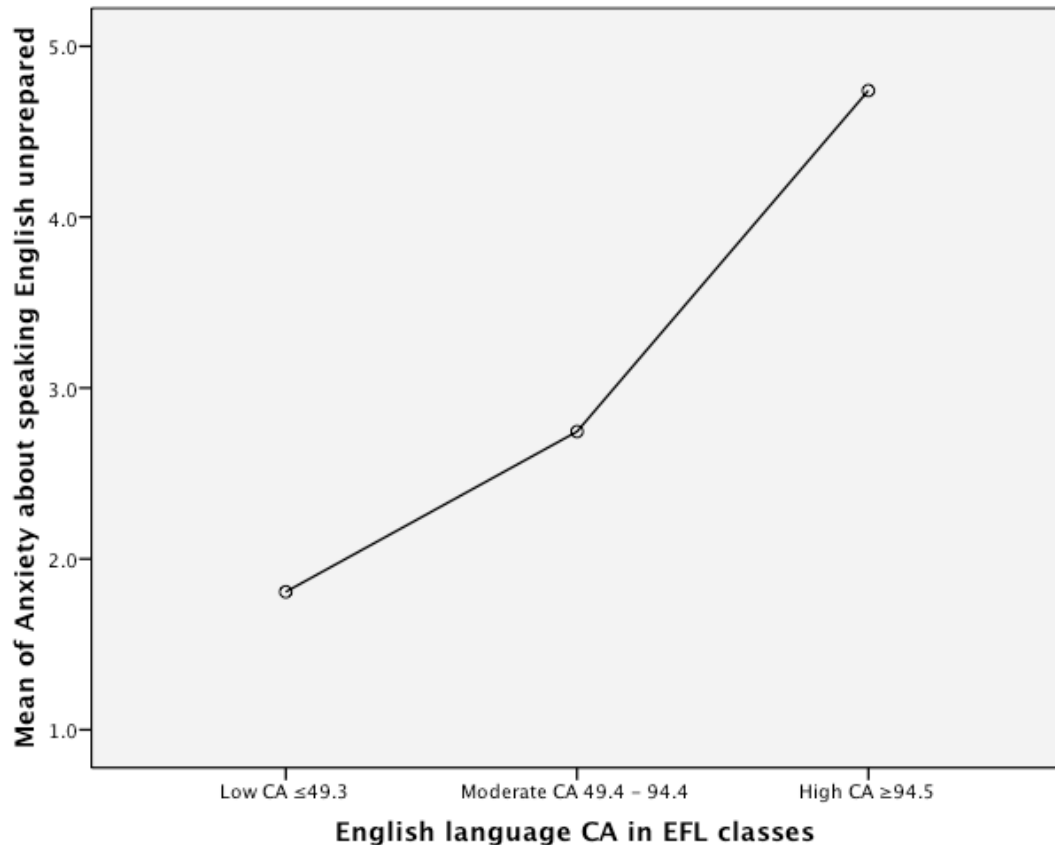


Figure 7: The anxiety about speaking English unprepared according to the English language CA level in EFL classes.

8.1.16. Task Features: Duration, Size of Audience and Degree of Attention

Besides the time available for preparation, the interviewees' English language CA increased situationally if the task lasted long and involved a great degree of attention. Long-lasting tasks in EFL classes include, for example, reading texts aloud, debates, presentations and speeches. Two interviewees (#5 and #2) described, for example, that reading an English text aloud to the whole class was extremely anxiety-arousing:

“Reading an English text aloud makes me anxious, – especially if I’m sitting at the front part of the classroom, so that everyone can see me from the rows behind my back, and I’m **fully conscious of their stares** while I’m reading the text.” (5, male, high CA)

“It’s the fact that **everybody’s listening** while I’m reading and pronouncing [the text]. I know that I’m able to do that pretty well, but it just makes me anxious. – I can answer the teacher’s questions with short sentences – but if I have to read a long text aloud in English, **the anxiety builds up**, because I have to stay in that situation for so long. Usually I start reading faster because I want to get out of the situation – so **I don’t care about how I sound anymore**, I just read, and feel relieved when it’s over.” (2, female, high CA)

The CEFR (2001: 162 – 164) lists the duration of the task as one of the features that affect task difficulty in foreign language classes. The explanation for this could lie in a high level of conspicuousness and attention: the longer the task and the bigger the audience, the greater the degree of attention directed to the speaker. Interviewee #5 described how everybody was staring at him; interviewee #2 felt apprehensive because everybody was listening to her. The three features seem to be related: the size of the audience and the duration of the task both contribute to the degree of attention, and a great degree of attention contribute to the interviewees' English language CA.

The reasons why attention elevates English language CA most likely come down to the concern over errors and evaluation, the fear of failure and the pressure to succeed: more attention means more witnesses to the potential failure and more worries about sounding inept (cf. Leary & Kowalski 1995: 19–23; Nuto 2003: 47). However, failure did not necessarily mean the same as poor linguistic performance for all of the interviewees. Interviewee #2 described how she usually started reading faster and neglected the correct pronunciation when her anxiety grew. It seems that for her, failing to pronounce correctly was not as dreadful as the danger of revealing her anxiety to everyone.

I will examine the tasks and their anxiety-arousing features in more detail in the next section.

8.2. Anxiety-Arousing Oral Production Tasks

The second objective of the present study was to find out which oral production tasks and which task features arouse English language CA in EFL classes and why. Part V of the questionnaire listed 24 oral production tasks and situations in EFL classes. The respondents had to evaluate how anxiety-arousing each task was. The tasks differed from each other with respect to the degree of formality, the support available, the time available for preparation and execution, the size of audience, the amount of attention, the degree of evaluation, and the required level of language proficiency for successful task execution. Table 5 lists the tasks from the most anxiety-arousing to the least anxiety-arousing on the basis of the mean value. Respondents who had answered 0 ('no experience') were excluded from the analysis.

Table 5: Oral production tasks in EFL classes from the most anxiety-arousing to the least anxiety-arousing.

Oral production task	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
91. Presentation/speech without notes in front of the class.	102	1.0	4.0	3.09	.9658	.933
87. Acting in front of the class.	93	1.0	4.0	2.77	1.0335	1.068
88. Pair debates with the class as audience.	89	1.0	4.0	2.69	1.0617	1.127
90. Presentation/speech with notes in front of the class.	117	1.0	4.0	2.57	.9854	.971
84. Expressing thoughts and ideas to the class.	116	1.0	4.0	2.53	.9549	.912
93. Presentation/speech without notes while seated.	100	1.0	4.0	2.49	.9156	.838
89. Group debates with the class as audience.	88	1.0	4.0	2.49	1.0170	1.034
80. Answering to questions involuntarily (picked randomly).	121	1.0	4.0	2.48	1.1113	1.235
86. Role plays.	100	1.0	4.0	2.13	.9708	.943
74. Reading aloud to the teacher and class.	122	1.0	4.0	2.08	.9234	.853
96. Posing questions to a native speaker in class.	89	1.0	4.0	2.08	.9198	.846
76. Posing questions to the teacher.	113	1.0	4.0	2.04	.9296	.864

94. Speaking with the teacher in private.	109	1.0	4.0	2.00	.9623	.926
75. Asking for instructions.	105	1.0	4.0	2.00	.8880	.788
78. Checking homework by seating order.	121	1.0	4.0	1.96	.9865	.973
92. Presentation/speech with notes while seated.	103	1.0	4.0	1.91	.8868	.786
83. Free conversation in small groups.	120	1.0	4.0	1.90	.9384	.881
95. Pronunciation exercises in a language lab, teacher listening.	75	1.0	4.0	1.88	.9720	.945
79. Answering to questions voluntarily.	120	1.0	4.0	1.87	.9521	.906
85. Games that involve speaking.	120	1.0	4.0	1.63	.8495	.722
77. Checking homework voluntarily.	120	1.0	4.0	1.46	.7206	.519
81. Translating sentences in pairs.	118	1.0	4.0	1.44	.6736	.454
73. Reading aloud to a partner.	122	1.0	4.0	1.34	.5837	.341
82. Free conversation in pairs.	121	1.0	3.0	1.31	.5751	.331
Valid N (listwise)	50					

Overall, the tasks received mean values ranging from 1.31 to 3.09. I divided the tasks in two groups according to the scale's mean value of 2.50. The eight (8) tasks with a mean value close to or above 2.50 were considered the most anxiety-arousing. These included presentations or speeches without notes in front of the class, acting in front of the class, pair debates with the class as audience, presentations or speeches with notes in front of the class, expressing thoughts and ideas to the class, presentations or speeches without notes while seated, group debates with the class as audience, and answering to questions involuntarily, or so that the teacher chooses the respondents randomly. The most anxiety-arousing oral production task to the respondents was a presentation or speech without notes in front of the class with the highest mean value of 3.09 (see table 5).

The eight most anxiety-arousing tasks (91, 87, 88, 90, 84, 93, 89, 80) have several features in common, as illustrated by table 6. First of all, they all take place in front of a large audience and an authority figure, the whole class and the teacher. Consequently,

the tasks involve a great degree of attention and potential evaluation from the peers and the teacher. In most of the eight tasks, there is usually little time for preparation and execution of the task as well as little support available from others. The degree of formality is also high as comes to presentations and speeches. These have all been recognized as features that increase task difficulty in earlier research (e.g. Buss 1980; Daly & Hailey 1980; Manninen 1984: 89–96; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 161–166; Koskinen 1995: 90; see sections 2.5.9 and 3.) and in the CEFR (2001: 162–164). I will examine all of these features in more detail in the subsections that follow.

When analysing the eight most anxiety-arousing tasks, six key features emerged as the most prominent ones affecting task difficulty. These included the size of audience, the degree of attention, the degree of evaluation, the duration of the task or the speech turn, the time available for preparation, and the support available. I formulated the list of features on the basis of earlier research and the interview data. Table 6 compares the eight most anxiety-arousing oral production tasks in terms of these six anxiety-arousing features. Since much depends on how the tasks are organized and executed, it is difficult to determine exactly how much support, for example, is available for each task. Therefore, the table should only be treated as a suggestion.

Table 6: Comparing the most important anxiety-arousing features of the eight most anxiety-arousing oral production tasks.

	Size of audience large +++ moder. ++ small +	Degree of attention high +++ moder. ++ low +	Degree of evaluation high +++ moder. ++ low +	Duration (of task or turns) short + moder. ++ long +++	Time for preparation no + little ++ much +++	Support available yes ++ possibly + no -
91. Presentation / speech without notes in front of the class.	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	-
87. Acting in front of the class.	+++	+++	++	+ / +++ / +++	++ / +++	+
88. Pair debates with the class as audience.	+++	+++	+++	+ / +++ / +++	+ / ++	-
90. Presentation / speech with notes in front of the class.	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	++
84. Expressing thoughts and ideas to the class.	+++	+++	++	+ / ++	+++	+
93. Presentation / speech without notes while seated.	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	-
89. Group debates with the class as audience.	+++	++	++	+ / ++	+ / ++	+
80. Answering to questions involuntarily (picked randomly).	+++	+++	+ / ++	+	+	+

The remaining 16 tasks also have several features in common. In contrast to the eight most anxiety-arousing tasks, many of the remaining tasks take place in small groups or in pairs (94, 83, 95, 81, 73, 82), meaning there are fewer people who hear and evaluate the performance. Besides, the teacher is not necessarily listening all the time. In the least anxiety-arousing tasks (79, 85, 77, 81, 73, 82) the speaker can actually plan carefully what to say when the teacher is listening, in order to minimize errors and failure when the authority figure is present. A smaller audience also means there is likely to be more support available – for example, in group and pair work (83, 81, 73, 82) the conversation partners can help out with difficult words and the meaning can thus be constructed together, like in free conversation outside the classroom. Working in small groups and pairs allows for more time for preparation. When only a few people or the conversation partner is waiting for the answer as opposed to the whole class, there is less time pressure on the speaker. Besides, in most cases (96, 76, 75, 83, 79, 77) the student can choose whether he or she wants to speak or not – there is less spontaneity involved.

The interviews gave more insight into the reasons why some tasks arouse apprehension and some do not. In the following subsections I will draw on the interview data and previous research findings to analyse the tasks and their anxiety-arousing qualities in more detail.

8.2.1. Presentations or Speeches with or without Notes

Presentations or speeches in their various forms were the most anxiety-arousing oral production tasks to the respondents regardless of their English language CA level. Presentations or speeches without notes in front of the class received the highest mean value of all tasks (3.09, $n = 102$). Presentations or speeches with notes in front of the class was regarded as the fourth-most anxiety-arousing task (mean value 2.69, $n = 117$) and presentations or speeches without notes while seated as the sixth-most anxiety-arousing task (mean value 2.49, $n = 100$). Interestingly, giving a presentation with notes while seated was not rated as anxiety-arousing as the rest (1.91, $n = 103$).

Presentations or speeches basically involve most of the features that have been presented as potentially anxiety-arousing in previous research (cf. Buss 1980; Daly & Hailey 1980; Manninen 1984: 89–96; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 161–166; Koskinen 1995: 90) and in the CEFR (2001: 162–164) (see also sections 2.5.9 and 3.). These features also came up in the present interview data. They include, for example, a high degree of formality, conspicuousness, a large audience and a great degree of evaluation and attention. Unless the student is allowed to have notes, there is also little or no support available from others, as presentations are supposed to be held without help from the teacher or the peers.

According to the interviewees, the most notable reasons for the CA and anxiety experienced during presentations and speeches in English were *a great amount of attention, a great degree of evaluation and a large audience*. The experiences and opinions of the high apprehensives and low apprehensives were fairly similar. The interviewees repeatedly reported anxiety over the fact that in presentations, all attention is directed to the speaker and the mistakes are heard by everyone. As we saw in section 8.1.13, the more people there are to witness the potential failure, the greater the degree of CA. This applies especially to presentations. Speaking in front of an audience elevates conspicuousness and public self-awareness. The public speaking context increases the speaker's desire to make favourable impressions on others and to convey a self-image that others will regard as socially desirable (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 163). Accordingly, one interviewee (#8) mentioned that presentations taking place in small groups were not as difficult:

“The teacher evaluates it all the time... it makes me anxious. – – And also the fact that **people pay attention to everything** when you're there alone in front of the class, I mean, they pay attention to you and yourself only – – and all kinds of small things such as pronunciation and the like. – – Once we gave presentations in **small groups** and **I had no trouble with that**.” (8, female, low CA)

“It's just the fact that you're **subjected to evaluation**, in a way – – I **make mistakes** of course and **people notice that** – – if someone else is giving a presentation, I don't reject him or scorn him for his mistakes, or think that he's bad or anything – – but I feel that a lot of students just suffer from stage fright, **you're alone** there and **you're the subject of criticism**. – – In a way, it's like **revealing yourself to others**... you fall in to the situation, you're there in front of everyone and can't pretend anything but just be yourself... **you feel rather vulnerable** in that kind of situations.” (7, female, low CA)

“I like presentations, but if I have to speak English, – – I feel that I'm **evaluated and compared** to others... and that makes me anxious. – – I feel like I was standing inside some kind of circle, very alone, being stared at.” (3, female, high CA)

“I feel that everybody’s listening and **all my mistakes are more highlighted** than in normal speech.” (11, male, low CA)

The feeling of vulnerability mentioned by interviewee #7 most likely derived from the fact that while giving a presentation, she was alone in front of the class, unable to hide from people’s looks – her nervousness showed through her gestures, blushing or trembling voice, her ineptitude in English was heard by all her peers, and everyone could evaluate her openly. However, neither the great amount of evaluation and attention nor the size of audience do not alone account for the increased CA in the presentation situation, given that most (9 out of 11) of the interviewees had little or no trouble giving a presentation in Finnish – some even enjoyed it, as demonstrated by the quotes below:

“**I’m not afraid of performing**, but I feel a bit more tense when I have to speak English in front of the class... I have no trouble going there during my Finnish classes but – – **in English there’s that little extra flavour.**” (11, male, low CA)

“I think it’s **super fun to give presentations in Finnish**. I’m never afraid of acting or giving a speech in front of the class or presenting a book or something, I just think it’s really fun. I really don’t suffer from stage fright. But in English, I don’t know, it could be the teacher’s look – – it could be the fact that **you’re afraid of failing**, and then you start to think about it, and then you’ll blush and you’re like ‘noooo’...” (4, female, high CA)

“For me the apprehension is just overwhelming, I even start to feel sick and all... especially when it comes to English. **It doesn’t happen with Finnish**. I feel anxious but nowhere close to [how I feel when giving a presentation in English] – – **I just can’t get the English speech out of my mind**, the thought of it just doesn’t leave me alone”. (1, female, high CA)

Where does the anxiety stem from in English presentations, then? The interviews suggested that presentations in English could be more anxiety-arousing mainly because of the *linguistic demands*. In addition to being under evaluation and paying attention to the audience, the students have to take both the message and the form into account. Even though the students can usually prepare for presentations well beforehand, they often require specialized vocabulary and the use of a slightly more formal language than in everyday conversation. The *probability of mistakes* and failure is, again, greater. Moreover, linguistic processing takes up cognitive capacity and may produce *cognitive overload* (see section 2.4.), which has been found to deteriorate performance (Leary & Kowalski 1995: 134–136). As previous research has it (see e.g. Manninen 1984; Horwitz et al. 1986: 126–127; Nuto 2003: 40–43), cognitive overload and the ensuing poorer performance may elevate anxiety and CA during the presentation – or, the elevated anxiety and CA may produce cognitive overload and deteriorate performance.

The following interview quotes illustrate the interviewees' experiences of cognitive overload and linguistic demands:

"I remember [presentation] situations when I have forgotten a word and then I might just have skipped that part... and **usually I can't come up with any alternative ways of expressing myself**... only afterwards I have the courage to think 'oh, I could've said this and that'... but when I'm in the situation, **my brain just won't function**." (8, female, low CA)

"When you see that large audience, you start to feel apprehensive, and then you pay more attention to the audience than to what you're saying... and there will be pauses and you try to redeem the situation and continue from there... but I reckon that you'll make even more mistakes doing that... -- there's **already the challenge of performing to all those people**, and then -- **at the same time you have to think of what to say and how to pronounce the words and try to remember everything**, even though you've practised it beforehand." (5, male, high CA)

"English [makes me anxious] basically because **it's not my native language**." (2, female, high CA)

"Presentations always have to be **fluent and memorized by heart**. You'll get minus points if you have notes. And there are usually **difficult words** and words you haven't heard before -- it's much more difficult in English, memorizing and using the words you planned to use... and you don't necessarily remember any of them, and **then your speech is just full of pauses**." (8, female, low CA)

On top of the linguistic demands, there is often little support available during the presentation apart from the potential notes. The *lack of support* can also elevate anxiety and CA because the speaker has nothing to turn to in case of memory lapses – and therefore, the probability of making mistakes in front of the large audience is even greater. Presentations also last relatively long: the longer the duration of the task, the greater the amount of linguistic content to memorize, and hence the greater the risk of mistakes. The CEFR (2001: 162–164) has, likewise, named *the duration of the task* as one of the key features that affect task difficulty:

"We were told that we cannot have notes -- it would've been **so much easier to read from those notes** and rely on them instead of giving **a five-minute speech** without anything. It felt **too demanding** to stand there, in front of the class... I just **freeze up completely** without nothing to rely on, I mean, those notes." (1, female, high CA)

Some interviewees also pointed out that presentations in English caused anxiety and CA because the chances to practise them in school were so few. Novelty and the lack of prior experiences have been repeatedly named as features that increase situational CA in previous studies (cf. Yli-Renko 1991; Nuto 2003: 87). Accordingly, the interviewees of the present study criticized the EFL classes for too little oral practise (see section 8.1.2.).

As the data has demonstrated, to cope with the CA and anxiety, the highly apprehensives tended to avoid anxiety-arousing communication situations. Interestingly, this applied not only to voluntary communication and responses during classes but also to presentations and speeches, even though these are usually essential course content:

“I was supposed to give a speech but I declined because I just – it would’ve been to a small group only – but it’s just such an anxiety-arousing situation for me. – – **I just said that I won’t do this**, here it is but I will not present it... apparently that didn’t matter much. – – For example I can’t take the course in the form of exams because **then you’re supposed to give a presentation or speech** in front of the class, and **that’s why I don’t have the courage** because I should give the presentation.” (2, female, high CA)

8.2.2. Acting in Front of the Class

With a mean value of 2.77 ($n = 93$), acting in English in front of the class was considered the second-most anxiety-arousing oral production task in EFL classes by the questionnaire respondents. However, none of the interviewees mentioned acting in English when talking about anxiety-arousing situations, mostly because of little or no experience. The interviews did not, therefore, provide answers to why acting in English causes anxiety and CA. Nevertheless, acting does have similar qualities to presentations, including *a great degree of attention*, *a large audience*, a great deal of either *memorizing* or *unpredictability* if improvised, and *little or no support* from others. Besides, acting itself can arouse anxiety and CA also in the native language. Being in the centre of attention elevates self-consciousness in general and this alone can produce anxiety, especially when accompanied with the *linguistic demands* of the foreign language.

8.2.3. Pair or Group Debates with the Class as Audience

Pair and group debates received mean values of 2.69 ($n = 89$) and 2.49 ($n = 100$) respectively and were among the eight most anxiety-arousing tasks in EFL classes. The major explanation could be, again, *a large audience* and hence the *great degree of attention* directed to individual speakers. In addition, debates often require quick responses and allow for *little time for preparation* – the speakers cannot formulate perfect sentences beforehand but have to speak impromptu, which may lead to more hesitation and mistakes. A large audience, again, means more witnesses to the potential

failure. In pair debates the amount of attention and individual responsibility for the execution of the task is higher than in group debates, which could account for the somewhat higher anxiety rating for the former. One interviewee (#6) also pointed out that it feels less embarrassing to reveal her ineptitude in English to one person as opposed to a group or the whole class:

“When we’re in pairs there’s **just the one person who will find out that I suck**, but in groups or with the whole class more people will find out that I’m really bad at this language – – and it feels **embarrassing**.” (6, female, high CA)

The amount of support available depends on how the task is organized. If there is no support, the speakers have nothing or nobody to turn to in case of hesitation or pauses, which builds up the pressure to memorize everything by heart and not to fail the task. Also, debates taking place in front of the class are usually *evaluated* at least to some extent. The presence of the teacher alone could be enough to add to the anxiety over evaluation.

8.2.4. Expressing Thoughts and Ideas to the Whole Class

Expressing thoughts and ideas to the whole class was considered the fifth-most anxiety-arousing oral production task in EFL classes with a mean value of 2.53 (n = 116). The task shares most of the potentially anxiety-arousing features with presentations and debates – *a great degree of attention* and *a large audience*, with the exception that there is usually much more time to plan the utterances beforehand. There is also more potential support available. Quite unlike in debates, in this case the student typically has the possibility to look for unknown vocabulary or expressions in the book or ask somebody before saying anything aloud. It is also possible to prepare for presentations, but they last longer and therefore the amount of vocabulary to memorize is much more extensive and the likelihood of mistakes is greater. Like the interview data suggested, *the duration of the task* seems to make a difference as well: expressing ideas with a short utterance is less anxiety-arousing than giving a five-minute presentation.

Revealing one’s thoughts to the whole class may also be anxiety-arousing in itself, regardless of the language. The use of a foreign language can add to this anxiety, as the speaker has to express his or her ideas with a limited linguistic capacity. The

probability of sounding inept and the concern over conveying a negative impression of oneself will then, again, be higher. Like the interviewee (#4) below put it, she did not know how she was going to sound. The outcome expectations were ambiguous, which made her feel insecure:

“In English it’s just that **I can never convey the whole meaning**, because I have to go round the words so much... but in Finnish that causes no problems. – – It’s like, I have thoughts, like, a million thoughts, and I can properly put into words only two of them. – – It **makes me feel insecure**, when you don’t know how it’s going to sound, if it’s going to sound good or bad.” (4, female, high CA)

8.2.5. Answering to Questions Involuntarily

With a mean value of 2.48 (n = 121), answering to questions involuntarily was considered the eighth-most anxiety-arousing oral production task by the respondents. This task is similar to the other seven most anxiety-arousing tasks with regard to *the amount of attention, the size of audience and the degree of evaluation*. Everybody is listening, and because the teacher is asking the question, the student might feel that the answer is closely evaluated even if it was not. The most essential anxiety-arousing feature of this task, however, is the fact that there is absolutely *no time for preparation*. Little preparation combined with the *time pressure* – everybody is waiting for the answer – and the pressure to succeed in front of everybody can make the student freeze up completely, as described by the following interviewee:

“The teacher tries to get the class discuss a matter, and sometimes she just goes “How about you?”, just asks somebody randomly and unexpectedly, and I’m like “Don’t ask anything of me”, – – I just can’t, it’s such a **terrible situation** that I should just say something quickly in front of the class... I’m not good at it, not at all. There’s the **pressure to succeed**. And then it just doesn’t work, it’s like a **vicious circle**. – – I’m a kind of **perfectionist** – – and when [the question] comes and I’m not prepared and then I’m supposed to say something... my brain just goes through all the possibilities, I try to find the best option, and then **I just freeze up completely**. – – I’m just like “ummm, errm, mm” and cannot say anything. I panic and feel that **I have to get out of this situation**. So, I just try to say something really quickly – – because I just need to get out of the situation.” (2, female, high CA)

According to research, it is fairly common for highly apprehensive students to know certain grammatical constructions or vocabulary in the foreign language but forget them – ‘freeze up’ – during a test or an oral production task (Horwitz et al. 1986: 126). The explanation could be CA’s potential to take up cognitive capacity and hence interfere with performance (cf. Aida 1994; Saito 1996; McCroskey 1997b: 110; MacIntyre 1999; Stevick 2002). The amount of oral practise in EFL classes can also be

so minimal that the students are just not prepared to speak English, as seen in section 8.1.2. Some interviewees described that they needed to switch to the ‘speaking mode’ before their English started to flow naturally and that took some time. Besides, when the question came unexpected, the students had to think of both the message and the form under tremendous time pressure. This may increase anxiety and CA as the thinking process may take a while for foreign language speakers:

“Usually it’s been a while since I’ve spoken English the last time, and the words just don’t come to mind easily... because **I’ve just been listening to it**... I mean, **usually I don’t have to speak during the lessons** before those situations. So, when the teacher starts shooting questions around, picking respondents, I try to think of the answer beforehand. But if the teacher just asks me a question totally off guard, I’m like ‘what does that even mean in Finnish’... I’m just not prepared.” (8, female, low CA)

“Sometimes the situation just comes so unexpectedly – I don’t necessarily know the topic so well... and then I have to think of the topic at the same time as I try to figure out **how to say it and what to say**. That is a difficult situation.” (5, male, high CA)

“It’s the fact that **I have no time to think about the answer**... and that’s exactly how it will sound then. – For the most part, I plan my answers beforehand – so that I would speak better English.” (4, female, high CA)

The majority of the interviewees saw that answering to questions without warning was very anxiety-arousing. However, one interviewee with high CA held a completely different stance:

“Actually I like it when the teacher asks me something... for example, to translate this or that. Somehow I get the feeling that **the teacher believes that I could do it**, and also the fact that **if I fail**, it’s somehow **more acceptable** than failing to translate something when I volunteer to do it myself... – It just feels good, in a way.” (3, female, high CA)

The interviewee felt that the teacher believed in her abilities, and that increased her self-esteem as an EFL speaker. Making a mistake did not feel embarrassing, because she did not volunteer to speak herself – in a way, the outcome was not her responsibility, but the teacher’s. The quote demonstrates what we saw in section 8.1.6: besides the speaker’s own outcome expectations, the feelings about speaking English are also affected by other people’s and the teacher’s expectations. The interviews implied that English language CA increased if the student assumed that everyone, including himself or herself, expected them to speak perfect English.

9. Discussion and Conclusion

The purposes of this study were, first, to analyse, why upper secondary students experience English language communication apprehension in EFL classes, and second, to find out what are the most anxiety-arousing oral production tasks in EFL classes for upper secondary students and what features of the tasks increase English language CA. English language communication apprehension (English language CA) and foreign language communication apprehension (foreign language CA) were defined along McCroskey's (1997b: 82) lines as a 'situational fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated [English or foreign language] communication with another person or persons'. The study focused on the students' subjective experiences of communication situations in English as a foreign language. The data was collected by means of questionnaires and theme interviews and analysed using both quantitative and qualitative methods, with an emphasis on the latter. The analysis drew on a comparison of the self-reports of highly apprehensive and low apprehensive upper secondary students of English as a foreign language. The analysis of the causes and features contributing to English language CA drew both on the students' own reasoning and on my interpretations of the interview and questionnaire data.

9.1. The Main Findings

As expected, the causes of English language CA in EFL classes were numerous and deeply intertwined. To address the first research question, the most notable causes and features contributing to English language CA in EFL classes are presented in figure 8. The causes were both internal and external in nature. The most notable causes were a low self-assessed English proficiency, a concern over errors, a concern over evaluation, and a concern over the impression made on others. Other causes related to a high English language CA were a lack of authentic oral practise in EFL classes, discouraging teachers and negative experiences of learning English, unrealistic internal demands for oral English performance, high external demands and expectations for oral English performance, the conversation partner's higher English proficiency, and the audience's large size and unfamiliarity. Despite being deeply interconnected, no direct causality between the various causes could be inferred with the methods in use.

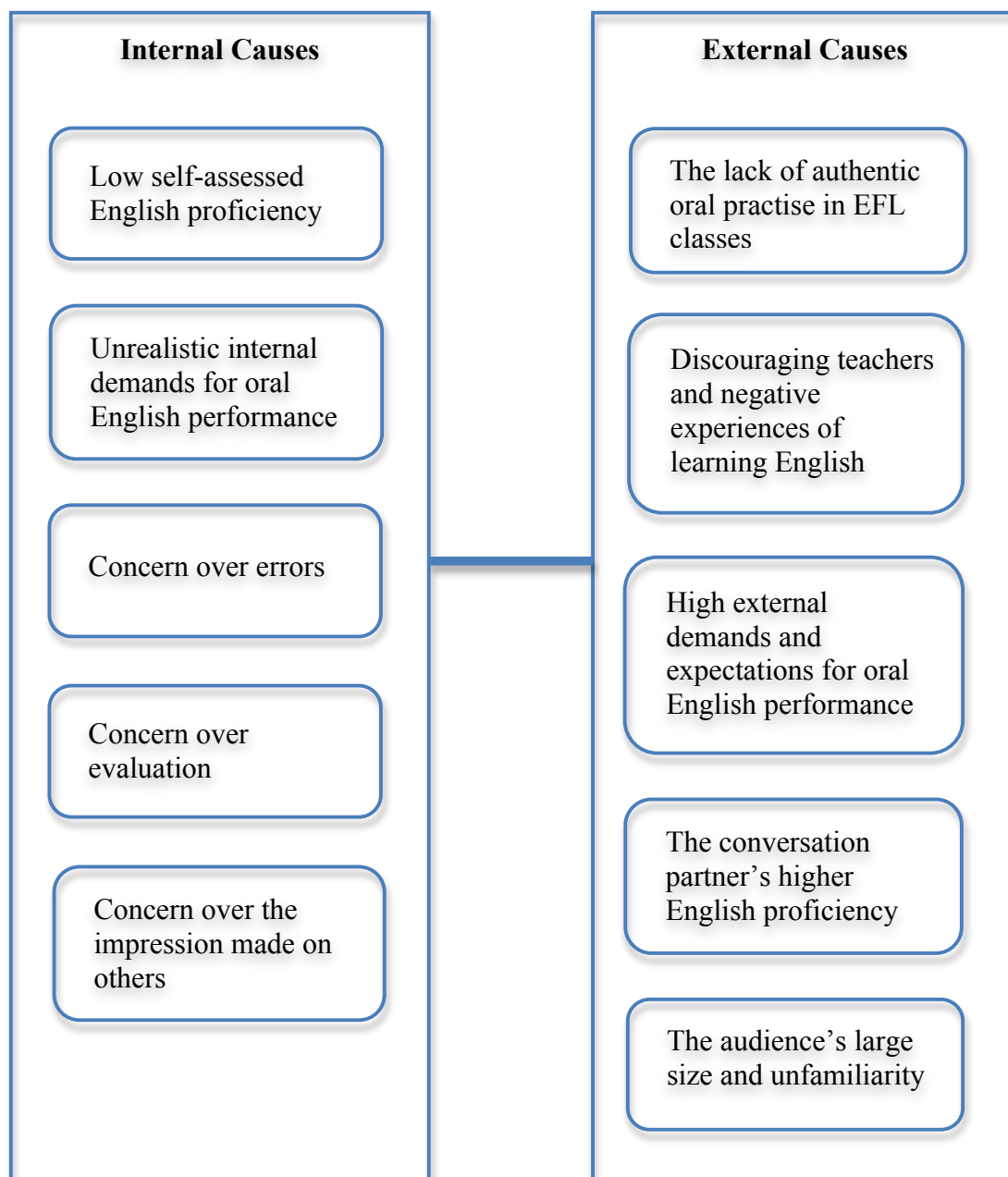


Figure 8: The main causes of English language CA in EFL classes.

One of the most notable causes of English language CA was a low self-assessed English proficiency: the high apprehensives evaluated their proficiency poorer than the low apprehensives. The high apprehensives also held negative outcome expectations for their communicative attempts in English: they were sure they would fail. The self-assessments did not seem to stem from a real lack of competence in English, however. Instead, the data suggested that the self-assessments were connected to unrealistic internal demands and standards for one's oral performance in English. This finding is supported by earlier studies and theory on foreign language CA and anxiety (e.g. Horwitz 1996; McCroskey 1997b; Gregersen & Horwitz 2002; Nuto 2003). A high English language CA and a poor self-assessed English proficiency also seemed to be connected to a lack of authentic oral practise in EFL classes.

As for the lack of authentic oral practise, the oral content in the EFL classes attended by the interviewees involved mostly question-answer interaction and translation based on written models. All of the interviewees reported that authentic communicative tasks were used rather infrequently, if at all. This finding agrees with Finnish studies on the methodological reality of foreign language classrooms (Alanen 2000; Hinkkanen & Säde 2003; Jalkanen & Ruuska 2007): communicative methods seem to be rarely used. However, the low apprehensives got to practise and improve their spoken English outside school with their family, friends or acquaintances, which was reflected in their higher self-assessed oral proficiency and a general confidence to speak English regardless of their real skill level and the grades they had received. For the high apprehensive interviewees, the EFL classes were more or less the only opportunities for oral English practise, which they did not get, judging by the interviews. Accordingly, all of the high apprehensive interviewees were of the opinion that oral practise would help them overcome the feelings of CA.

Even though no causality as understood by quantitative research could be inferred from the data, the interviews did suggest that the lack of authentic oral practise in EFL classes may have contributed to the fact that the high apprehensive students set unrealistically high demands and standards for their oral performance. The data implied that these high demands and standards were strongly related to a high English language CA. Many of the high apprehensive interviewees displayed perfectionist attitudes and in their own words, aimed at producing flawless English speech. They generally

considered all errors or hesitation as signs of incompetence and sources for CA and anxiety, whereas the low apprehensives saw errors as a normal and inevitable part of the learning process and communication, which they indeed are. These results are in line with previous research on foreign language CA (Horwitz et al. 1986: 127–128; MacIntyre et al. 1998b; Gregersen & Horwitz 2002: 567; Nuto 2003: 43–44, 73–76).

The concern over errors was another main cause of English language CA in EFL classes and in accordance with earlier research (Horwitz et al. 1986: 127–128; MacIntyre et al. 1998b; Gregersen & Horwitz 2002: 567; Nuto 2003: 43–44, 73–76). Why were the high apprehensives more concerned over errors? Several plausible reasons could be inferred from the data. First, most of the high apprehensives set unreasonable demands for their oral English performance, considering the fact that at the same time, they regarded their proficiency as rather low. Basically, this meant that they did not allow themselves to make errors or show hesitation of any kind when speaking English in public. This was either because of their personality, or because they were concerned over being evaluated negatively and over the impression they made on their peers. At the same time they saw that English was regarded as a basic skill among their age group and as something that everyone was expected to master. Contrary to some earlier findings (e.g. Gardner & MacIntyre 1993), all of the high apprehensives also wanted to master the language: they were highly motivated to learn English and be good at it. The high English language CA and anxiety seemed to stem from the discrepancy between these unrealistic internal and external demands, the pressure and will to succeed, and the students' low self-assessed English proficiency: the students were fully aware that at their skill level, errors were inevitable and excelling at English was impossible, yet something that was expected. Hence the feelings of anxiety and CA. Consequently, most of the high apprehensive students exerted the behaviour that researchers (McCroskey 1997b: 100–101; Phillips 1997: 135) have deemed typical of high apprehensive speakers: to avoid the discomforting feelings of CA and anxiety, they avoided speaking English altogether in EFL classes unless they were absolutely sure they got it right.

English language CA was also strongly affected by a concern over evaluation, a concern over the impression made on others, the size and familiarity of audience and the conversation partner's English proficiency. The low apprehensives were generally

less concerned over being evaluated and making a good impression on others than the high apprehensives. However, some low apprehensives did feel slightly anxious over the fact that they felt compelled to demonstrate their fluency to the others and speak flawless English. Concerns over evaluation and over the impression made on others were, however, much more commonly reported by the high apprehensives.

The size and familiarity of the audience had an effect on the feelings of CA for both the high and the low apprehensives, especially when giving a presentation in EFL classes. A familiar audience, no matter how large, was not considered as anxiety-arousing as an unfamiliar group of people. This finding was in line with theory and research on CA (Buss 1980; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986; Nuto 2003: 83–84). This could be explained, for example, by the need to make a favourable impression of oneself on the others (cf. Leary & Kowalski 1995). The interviewees reported that the pressure to succeed and the fear of failure increased when faced with a large unfamiliar audience, because they felt they had to demonstrate they were good at English in order not to feel embarrassed. According to the interviewees, English was viewed as such a basic skill among their age group that not handling it was embarrassing and the same as being declared stupid.

In accordance with previous research (e.g. Bailey 1983: 74; Aida 1994: 162; Hilleson 1996: 256; Nuto 2003: 88) was also the finding that the audience's or the conversation partner's English proficiency had an effect on English language CA. The high apprehensives reported feeling more anxious and apprehensive about speaking English with better English speakers, while this made no difference to the low apprehensives. Instead, two low apprehensive interviewees actually preferred talking to a native speaker because of Finns' tendency to judge and criticise other people's imperfect English. This was the only occasion the interviewees implied that English language CA could be culture-related, but no conclusions can be made on this account alone. All in all, the high apprehensives' concern over the conversation partner's proficiency was ultimately linked to the concern over errors, negative evaluation and the impression made on others. The risk of conveying a negative impression of oneself was higher as better speakers would definitely notice all mistakes. According to the interviewees, the familiarity and proficiency level had an effect on CA when working in pairs, for example. The high apprehensives generally wished to be paired up with either someone

familiar or at least someone on the same skill level, so as not to feel inept, inferior to the other student and apprehensive about speaking English as result.

The data also indicated a strong relationship between a high English language CA and certain teaching methods and teacher behaviour: reports of discouraging past teachers were much more common among the highly apprehensive students. The methods and teacher's actions that contributed to the students' English language CA and anxiety involved, most eminently, a focus on the form over the meaning at all times when speaking English in the class, unreasonable demands for spoken and written performance, the inability to give positive feedback, and overt or covert comparison to better students. This was in line with earlier findings (Manninen 1984: 80; Yli-Renko 1991; Nuto 2003: 87). In contrast, the low apprehensives had solely positive or neutral recollections of current and earlier teachers and their actions.

Contrary to some earlier findings (Koskinen 1995; Jung & McCroskey 2004; Almonkari 2007), all except one of the high apprehensives reported no CA in the native language and generally regarded themselves as sociable and talkative personalities. Most of the high apprehensives also placed great value on their academic performance and received high grades in all other subjects except English. Thus, it seems possible that one of the sources of English language CA in EFL classes was the striking contrast between the students' sociable and academically successful 'real self' and the linguistically deficient and less talkative 'limited self' (cf. Horwitz et al. 1986: 128). For the low apprehensives, this contrast was not as striking since they saw they could cope well and be themselves with the English language skills they possessed.

As for the second research question, the most anxiety-arousing oral production tasks in EFL classes were the ones that lasted relatively long and involved a great degree of attention, a large audience, a high degree of evaluation, little time for preparation and little linguistic support. These stood out as the main situational features affecting the difficulty and the anxiety-arousing potential of an oral production task, and have also been mentioned in earlier research on CA (Buss 1980; Daly & Hailey 1980; Manninen 1984: 89–96; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1986: 161–166; Koskinen 1995: 90) and in the CEFR (2001: 162–164). The interviewees implied that a great degree of attention and a large audience basically meant more witnesses to a potential failure, and hence a higher

English language CA and anxiety. Little time for preparation, little linguistic support and a long duration of the task meant more memorizing and cognitive processing, and an elevated risk of making mistakes because of cognitive overload, which has also been demonstrated by earlier research (Aida 1994; Leary & Kowalski 1995; Saito 1996; Stevick 2002; Nuto 2003: 40–43). The interviewees reported that thinking of both the form and the message was challenging and could result in ‘freezing up’ completely, which, in turn, gave rise to CA and anxiety. Interestingly, the low apprehensives had similar experiences despite the fact that they generally felt less apprehensive across different communicative situations in English.

The quantitative data indicated that the eight most anxiety-arousing oral production tasks were presentations or speeches with or without notes in front of the class, acting in front of the class, pair debates with the class as audience, expressing thoughts and ideas to the class, presentations or speeches without notes while seated, group debates with the class as audience, and answering to the teacher’s questions involuntarily. Presentations and speeches could well be deemed the most challenging tasks in the EFL classes, considering the fact that even the low apprehensive interviewees viewed them as rather anxiety-arousing. Presentations and speeches involve all of the anxiety-arousing features that came up in the data. They also require the use of a formal language and difficult concepts that, according to the interviewees, were hard to memorize. Some interviewees also pointed out that presentations and speeches along with other oral production tasks in English caused CA and anxiety, because the chances to engage in them and in English communication overall were so few in EFL classes.

9.2. Implications for Teaching and Suggestions for Further Research

Earlier research (e.g. McCroskey 1997b; Nuto 2003) has implied that once the student has come to suffer from foreign language CA, it can develop into a vicious circle that maintains itself. The present findings implied that low self-assessed English proficiency together with the unrealistic demand that one must always speak flawlessly can make the student feel that he or she cannot meet the demands of the communication situation. This thought, especially if accompanied with negative prior experiences, was found to give rise to CA and anxiety. As the data demonstrated, the

highly apprehensive students also tended to expect failure and negative evaluation by the audience – and the larger the audience, the higher the CA, because a large audience means there are more witnesses to the potential failure. The emotional activation and the pressure to succeed could, then, give rise to cognitive overload that has been found to deteriorate performance. For the highly apprehensive students, poor performance seemed to equate with failure, as even minor errors could make them deem their performance unsuccessful. The students reported that the ensuing negative experiences from the communication situation reinforced the feelings of apprehension and expectations of failure in similar situations in the future. The students also reckoned that the negative experiences made them avoid future communication situations and slow down or hinder the learning of oral English skills. Hence, a vicious circle has developed. The question is, how to prevent this vicious circle from forming in the first place?

Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986: 128) have argued that foreign language learning will probably always involve some amount of CA and anxiety. It might be impossible to change the whole nature of foreign language learning: the learners always have to use their limited linguistic capacity to formulate their messages, and if the proficiency is low, any foreign language communication is very likely to give rise to CA and anxiety as the learner's self-concept as a sociable individual is challenged. Besides, English language CA might also partly stem from personality factors that lie beyond the scope of this study. However, the present findings did also indicate that the teacher's actions and negative recollections from EFL classes were significantly related to high English language CA. The finding that the low apprehensives did not have any negative recollections of past teachers or EFL classes supports this. Foreign language teachers should, therefore, do their best in preventing the vicious circle of CA from developing or being reinforced in the classes.

Despite the fact that the results of the present study cannot be automatically generalized to the whole population, some implications and suggestions can still be drawn. Low self-assessed oral English proficiency was significantly related to high English language CA in EFL classes. This came partly down to the fact that the EFL classes did not offer enough opportunities to speak English. The interviewees openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the classes and wished for more authentic oral practise. All of

the high apprehensive interviewees also believed that oral practise and positive experiences would help them overcome the feelings of CA. These findings alone are a clear implication that EFL and other foreign language classes should provide enough authentic opportunities for the students to develop their oral proficiency. The opportunities should not only be limited to, for example, presentations and question-answer interaction, but also authentic communicative tasks and free conversation should take place. Speaking should be an integral part of every foreign language lesson and task so that the students would get used to talking and the oral practise would not come so unexpected, like the interviewees reported.

Besides the greater amount of oral practise, the teacher should act in a way that does not increase foreign language CA. The teacher should give enough individualized praise for each student's communicative attempts regardless of their proficiency level. The students should be neither explicitly nor implicitly compared to each other as this was found to make the students feel inferior and inept and contribute to CA. Besides, the students are likely to do it anyway without the teacher's intervention. As for the feedback, instead of mainly concentrating on the flaws and deviations from the correct form, the feedback should be individualized, constructive and focused on the student's strengths. Teachers who always draw their attention to the correct form instead of the message are highly unlikely to encourage the highly apprehensive students to participate, considering the fact that many of the high apprehensives tend to evaluate their proficiency quite low and are sure they will make mistakes anyway. Krashen (1982) along with numerous other scholars has suggested that when teaching the spoken language, and especially in free conversation, error correction should be minimized, because excessive error correction might convey the message that one should always speak flawlessly. It might also help the students take mistakes less seriously if errors and failure were discussed openly in the classes in the following way, for example:

"It's funny though, how pointless it is to fear the mistakes and failure when you speak English... if I think about situations where somebody else has failed, and like, you're afraid of failing too and of the fact that everybody will remember it. **But do you really remember when somebody has made a mistake? It's fifteen minutes, and after that, nobody remembers it.**" (11, male, low CA)

The present findings also implied that positive experiences of speaking English could decrease CA significantly. At the core of positive experiences was the feeling that the student got the message through despite his or her limited language skills, and on top of that, was not necessarily corrected at all.

The most anxiety-arousing oral production tasks were ones that involved lots of attention and evaluation, lasted relatively long and offered little linguistic support and time for preparation. Making these tasks less anxiety-arousing might be difficult: presentations, for example, will always be characterized by much attention, a large audience and a long duration. Having presentations in pairs at least once in a while might help, as the students could support each other in case of memory lapses. Asking for support should also be allowed to some extent, because foreign language classes are, after all, an opportunity to practise different communicative situations in the target language in order to handle similar situations in the future and outside school. Presentations without notes hardly ever take place outside school. Moreover, presentations should not be the one and only opportunity for the students to demonstrate their oral proficiency for the purposes of evaluation – instead, foreign language classes should involve more oral practise all in all and student evaluation should be continuous.

As for the familiarity of audience and the conversation partners' proficiency, the composition of the EFL study groups can undergo major changes in each course in upper secondary education. The differences in the students' foreign language proficiency may be striking and the students seldom know everyone in the group. The findings suggested that to prevent or reduce foreign language CA, the students' proficiency level should be taken into account when forming groups or pairs. The teacher can let the students work either with their friends or with someone on the same skill level, especially when the tasks involve speaking.

The present study has looked into the causes of English language CA in the EFL class context and analysed which oral production tasks raise English language CA and why. Even though the focus of the present study was on English language CA, it is likely that most of the findings can be applied to foreign language CA and classes more generally. Much remains to be solved in this field. For example, the connection

between the teaching methods and foreign language CA could be examined more closely by classroom observation, videotaping and, if ethically possible, longitudinal research. Further research on the connection between the students' personality factors and foreign language CA is also called for. The foreign language teachers' perspective might also be worth studying. Finding out how the teachers view highly apprehensive students and take them into account in classes would give more insight into the methodological reality of foreign language classrooms and its possible positive or negative effects on foreign language CA.

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Appendix 1: The Questionnaire

Hyvä vastaaja!

Teen pro gradu -tutkimusta englannin puhumiseen liittyvistä tuntemuksista lukion oppilailla. Tässä sinä kyselyyn vastaajana olet asiantuntija ja siten tärkeimmässä roolissa. Vastauksesi antaa erittäin arvokasta tietoa, joka auttaa mm. kehittämään englannin opetusta ja ymmärtämään paremmin vieraan kielen oppimista. Vastaathan siis kyselyyn rehellisesti ja harkiten. Kaikki vastaukset käsitellään nimettömästi ja luottamuksellisesti. Tulokset raportoidaan siten, ettei yksittäistä vastaajaa voida tunnistaa joukosta. Kysely ei vaikuta millään lailla englannin arvosanaasi, ja yksittäiset vastaukset jäävät vain minun tietooni.

Kiitokset jo valmiiksi avustasi! ☺

Laura Korpela (puh.)

Luokan- ja aineenopettajaopiskelija, Helsingin yliopiston Soveltavan kasvatustieteen laitos

HUOM!!! Osa vastaajista kutsutaan syksyllä **haastatteluun**. Kirjoitathan siis **yhteystietosi** alle. Kaikkien lomakkeen ja yhteystietonsa täyttäneiden kesken arvotaan **4kpl Finnkinon leffalippuja**, ja tarjoan toki jokaiselle haastatteluun kutsutulle kahvit/teet/ kaakaot haastattelun lomassa ☺

Yhteystietosi arvontaa ja mahdollista haastattelukutsua varten:

E-mail ja/tai puhelinro: (sellainen, joka on vielä syksyllä voimassa)

Yhteystietoja ei luovuteta kolmansille osapuolille.

I Taustatiedot

Syntymävuosi: _____

Sukupuoli: nainen mies

Miltä luokalta lähtien olet opiskellut englantia? _____

Englanti on minulle nykyisin: A1- tai A2-kieli B1- tai B2 -kieli B3-kieli

Kaksi viimeisintä englannin arvosanaani jaksotodistuksissa: _____ ja _____
(jos et muista tarkasti, merkitse arviosi mukaan)

Englannin arvosanani peruskoulun päättötodistuksessa:

☐ 4 ☐ 5 tai 6 ☐ 7 tai 8 ☐ 9 tai 10

Oletko saanut englannin puhumisen harjoitusta myös muualla kuin englannintunneilla?

Rastita **kaikki** ne kohdat, jotka sopivat sinuun.

- ☐ englannin suullisen ilmaisun valinnaisella kurssilla lukiossa
- ☐ englannin suullisen ilmaisun valinnaisella kurssilla peruskoulussa – luokka: _____
- ☐ kielikurssilla Suomessa – vuonna: _____ kurssin pituus: _____
- ☐ kielikurssilla ulkomailla – vuonna: _____ kurssin pituus: _____
- ☐ olen ollut vaihto-oppilaana englanninkielisessä maassa – lukuvuonna: _____ - _____
- ☐ olen käynyt englanninkielistä koulua – vuosina: _____ - _____
- ☐ englantia on äidinkieleni/ toinen kieleni
- ☐ kotonani puhutaan englantia
- ☐ minulla on sukulaisia/ perhetuttuja, joiden kanssa kommunikoin englanniksi
- ☐ minulla on kavereita, joiden kanssa kommunikoin englanniksi
- ☐ harrastuksen kautta – mikä harrastus?: _____
- ☐ olen ollut matkalla englanninkielisessä maassa – kuinka monta kertaa? _____
kuinka kauan yhteensä olet oleskellut jossain englanninkielisessä maassa? _____ (anna
vastaus päivissä, viikoissa, kuukausissa tai vuosissa)
- ☐ olen käyttänyt englantia lomamatkalla maassa, jossa ei puhuta englantia
- ☐ muuta, mitä?: (voit myös tarkentaa tähän yllä olevia vastauksiasi)

II Oma arviosi englannin kielitaidostasi

Tässä osiossa sinua pyydetään arvioimaan omaa englannin kielitaitoasi asteikolla 1—5.

Tärkeintä on **oma arviosi**, ei se, mitä arvosanoja olet kokeista saanut.

1. Anna ensin **englannin kielitaidollesi yleisarvosana** seuraavilla osa-alueilla:

1 – heikko, 2 – tyydyttävä, 3 – hyvä, 4 – kiitettävä, 5 – erinomainen

- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. Kuullunymmärtäminen | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. Luetunymmärtäminen | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. Puhuminen | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d. Kirjoittaminen | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | | | | |
| e. Ääntäminen | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| f. Sanojen painotus ja intonaatio | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| g. Sanavarasto | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| h. Kieliopin tuntemus ja käyttö | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

2. Arvioi nyt, **miten pärjääät tai uskoisit pärjääväsi englanniksi seuraavissa puhe- ja kuuntelutilanteissa:**

1 – en lainkaan tai heikosti, 2 – tyydyttävästi, 3 – hyvin, 4 – kiitettävästi, 5 – erinomaisesti

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. Osaan selostaa suullisesti kirjan tai tekstin juonen. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. Osaan ilmaista omia ajatuksiani ja mielipiteitäni. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. Osaan pitää esitelmää tai puheita. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d. Osaan kertoa harrastuksistani ja mielenkiinnon kohteistani. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e. Osaan keskustella päivän tapahtumista. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| f. Osaan osallistua keskusteluun, mikäli aihe on edes jotenkin tuttu. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| g. Osaan kuvailla tunteitani suullisesti. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| h. Osaan väitellä ja perustella mielipiteeni. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| i. Osaan ottaa puheenvuoron keskustelussa tai väittelyssä. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| j. Osaan ylläpitää keskustelua. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| k. Osaan “kiertää” puhuessani sanoja, joita en tiedä tai muista. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| l. Osaan suunnitella, mitä seuraavaksi sanon samalla, kun puhun. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| m. Tehdessäni virheen puhuessani, osaan korjata sen ja jatkaa siitä, mihin jäin. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | | | | |
| n. Ymmärrän opettajan englanninkielistä puhetta. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

o. Ymmärrän kuullunymmärtämisharjoituksia.	1	2	3	4	5
p. Ymmärrän tuttuja englanninkielisiä tv-ohjelmia ja leffoja ilman tekstitystä.	1	2	3	4	5
q. Ymmärrän englanninkielisiä tv-ohjelmia ja leffoja ilman tekstitystä melkein aiheesta kuin aiheesta.	1	2	3	4	5
r. Ymmärrän englanninkielisiä radio-ohjelmia.	1	2	3	4	5
s. Ymmärrän englantia äidinkielenään puhuvien välistä arkipäiväistä, nopeatempoista keskustelua.	1	2	3	4	5
t. Ymmärrän toisten oppilaiden englanniksi pitämiä esitelmiä.	1	2	3	4	5

III Englannin puhuminen oppituntien ulkopuolella

Seuraavassa on joukko englannin puhumiseen liittyviä väittämiä. Ympyröi, **miten kukin väittämä sopii sinuun**. Mieti vastatessasi niitä **oppitunnin ulkopuolisia tilanteita**, joissa olet **puhunut** tai sinun on **odotettu puhuvan englantia**.

Joukossa on paljon toistensa kaltaisia väittämiä. On silti tärkeää, että vastaat jokaiseen kohtaan. Mikäli sinulla ei ole kokemusta jostakin kohdasta, merkitse 0.

- 1 – täysin eri mieltä
- 2 – eri mieltä
- 3 – osittain eri mieltä
- 4 – osittain samaa mieltä
- 5 – samaa mieltä
- 6 – täysin samaa mieltä
- 0 – ei kokemusta tilanteesta

1. En arastele puhua englantia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
2. Tykkään aloittaa keskusteluja englanniksi.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
3. Hakeudun mielelläni tilanteisiin, joissa voi puhua englantia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
4. Puhun englantia vain silloin, jos minulta kysytään jotain.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
5. Yritän välttää tilanteita, joissa minun täytyisi puhua englantia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
6. Tunnen itseni jännittyneeksi puhuessani englantia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
7. En useinkaan osallistu englanninkieliseen keskusteluun, haluan mieluummin vain kuunnella.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0

8. Oloni on itsevarma puhuessani englantia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
9. Tunnen itseni ujoksi puhuessani englantia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
10. Olen yleensä rentoutunut puhuessani englantia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
11. Ilmaisen itseäni englanniksi paremmin kirjoittamalla kuin puhumalla.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
12. Menen lukkoon, jos minun pitää puhua englantia siten, etten ole valmistautunut.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
13. Minua turhauttaa, jos en pysty ilmaisemaan englanniksi itseäni juuri niin kuin haluan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
14. Pysin täydellisyyteen puhuessani englantia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
15. Puhun englantia rohkeammin tuttujen kuin vieraiden ihmisten kanssa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
16. Arastelen puhua englantia ihmisten kanssa, jotka osaavat englantia paremmin kuin minä.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
17. Oloni on puhuessani varmempi, jos olen ehtinyt ajatella, mitä aion englanniksi sanoa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
18. Tykkään yleensä puhua englantia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
19. Puhun englantia rohkeammin oppituntien ulkopuolella.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
20. Arastelen puhua englantia sellaisen henkilön kanssa, jolle englanti on äidinkieli.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
21. Englannin puhuminen on miellyttävämpää, jos keskustelukumppanini kielitaito on samantasoinen kuin omani.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0

IV Englannin oppitunnit ja englannin puhuminen oppitunneilla

Alla on lueteltu joukko väittämiä liittyen **englannin oppitunteihin** sekä **englannin puhumiseen oppitunneilla**. Ympyröi arviosi mukaan, **miten kukin väittämä sopii sinuun**. *Joukossa on paljon toistensa kaltaisia väittämiä. On silti tärkeää, että vastaat jokaiseen kohtaan.*

- 1 – täysin eri mieltä
- 2 – eri mieltä
- 3 – osittain eri mieltä
- 4 – osittain samaa mieltä
- 5 – samaa mieltä
- 6 – täysin samaa mieltä

- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22. Menen yleensä mielelläni englannin tunneille. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 23. Osallistun aktiivisesti, kun tunnilla puhutaan englantia. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 24. Viitataan aktiivisesti englannin tunneilla. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 25. Arastelen puhua englantia oppitunnilla. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 26. Puhun englantia tunnilla vain, jos on pakko. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 27. Valitsen istumapaikkani englannin tunneilla siten, että minulta kysyttäisiin mahdollisimman vähän. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 28. Tunnen oloni rentoutuneeksi englannin tunneilla. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 29. Englannin tunneilla haluan mieluummin vain kuunnella, kun muut puhuvat. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 30. Englannin tunneilla pelkään, että opettaja kysyy minulta jotakin. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 31. Yritän olla kiinnittämättä tunnilla huomiota itseeni, jotta minulta ei kysyttäisi mitään. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 32. Olen tunneilla yleensä hiljaa, vaikka mahdollisuuksia englannin puhumiseen olisi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 33. Istun englannin tunneilla siten, että minun tarvitsisi puhua mahdollisimman vähän. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

1 täysin eri mieltä, 2 eri mieltä, 3 osittain eri mieltä, 4 osittain samaa mieltä, 5 samaa mieltä,
6 täysin samaa mieltä

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| 34. Puhun mieluummin sellaisten aineiden tunneilla,
jotka opetetaan äidinkielellä. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 35. Tunnen oloni englannin tunneilla jännittyneemmäksi
kuin muilla tunneilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 36. Pelkään tekeväni virheitä puhuessani englantia oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 37. Tunnen itseni jännittyneeksi puhuessani englantia oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 38. Tekisin mieluiten vain kirjallisia tehtäviä englannin tunneilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 39. Tykkään puhua englantia oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 40. Minua ärsyttää, kun opettaja kiinnittää huomiota virheisiin
puhuessani englantia. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 41. Puhuessani englantia tunnilla pelkään kuulostavani hölmöltä. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 42. Puhuessani englantia tunnilla pyrin mahdollisimman lähelle
syntyperäisen englannin puhujan ääntämystä ja intonaatiota. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 43. Puhun englantia oppitunnilla vain, kun olen varma,
etten tee virheitä. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 44. Puhuessani englantia tunnilla keskityn ensisijaisesti siihen,
mitä tahdon sanoa, enkä kiinnitä liikaa huomiota kielen
oikeellisuuteen. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 45. En koskaan mieti, miltä kuulostan muiden mielestä
puhuessani englantia oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 46. Minulta ei puutu rohkeutta puhua englantia oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 47. Minua ärsyttää, kun teen ääntämisvirheitä englanniksi
oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 48. En välitä, jos teen virheitä puhuessani englantia oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 49. Minua lannistaa, kun muut oppilaat tuntuvat puhuvan englantia
niin hyvin. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |

1 täysin eri mieltä, 2 eri mieltä, 3 osittain eri mieltä, 4 osittain samaa mieltä, 5 samaa mieltä, 6 täysin samaa mieltä

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| 50. Pelkään, että toiset oppilaat nauravat minulle, kun puhun englantia. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 51. Puhuessani englantia mietin, mitä muut oppilaat mahtavat minusta ajatella. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 52. Puhun mieluummin äidinkieltä englannitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 53. Ahdistun, jos en löydä oikeita sanoja puhuessani englantia oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 54. Suunnittelen vastaukseni aina sana sanalta etukäteen, ennen kuin viittaan. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 55. Jos teen virheen puhuessani englantia oppitunnilla, minulla on tapana jäädä murehtimaan virhettä jälkeensä. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 56. Jos en löydä sanoja puhuessani englantia, en ahdistu, vaan yritän käyttää kiertoilmaisuja. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 57. En koskaan ole oikein varma itsestäni, kun puhun englantia oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 58. Englannin puhuminen oppitunnilla saattaa hermostuttaa minua niin, että teen enemmän virheitä ja puhun huonompaa englantia kuin osaisin. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 59. Osallistun englannitunnilla rohkeammin, jos saan käyttää äidinkieltä. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 60. Pelkään, että ymmärrän kysymyksen väärin, kun opettaja kysyy minulta jotain englanniksi. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 61. Minua hermostuttaa, jos en ymmärrä jokaista opettajan käyttämää sanaa. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 62. Sekoan usein ajatuksissani, kun puhun englantia oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 63. Minua ahdistaa, jos minulta kysytään jotain siten, etten ole ehtinyt valmistautua vastaamaan. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 64. Tunnen oloni itsevarmaksi, kun puhun englantia oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| 65. Puhuessani englantia oppitunnilla saatan tuntea itseni
niin jännittyneeksi, että unohdan asioita, jotka normaalisti
muistan. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 66. Olen yleensä rentoutunut puhuessani englantia oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 67. Sydämeni pamppailee, kun odotan vastausvuoroani
englannin oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 68. Minua nolottaa vastata englanniksi opettajan kysymyksiin. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 69. Minua ahdistaa, jos en ymmärrä, mitä opettaja sanoo. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 70. Minusta tuntuu aina, että toiset oppilaat puhuvat englantia
paremmin kuin minä. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 71. Ääneni värisee, sydämeni pamppailee, käteni tärisyvät,
punastelen tai hikoilen, kun minun pitää puhua englantia
muiden kuullen oppitunnilla. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 72. Menen aivan lukkoon, jos opettaja kysyy minulta jotain,
enkä ole valmistautunut vastaamaan. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |

V Englannin puhuminen eri tilanteissa oppitunnilla

Alla on lueteltu joukko **englannin tunnilla esiintyviä tilanteita ja työtapoja**, joilla englannin puhumista harjoitellaan peruskoulussa ja lukiossa. Nämä tilanteet herättävät eri oppilaissa erilaisia tuntemuksia. Ympyröi arviosi mukaan, **miltä sinusta tuntuu puhua englantia kussakin tilanteessa**. Mikäli sinulla ei ole kokemusta tilanteesta, ympyröi 0.

- 1 – ei yhtään ahdistavalta/ epämiellyttävältä
2 – vain hieman ahdistavalta/ epämiellyttävältä
3 – melko ahdistavalta/ epämiellyttävältä
4 – hyvin ahdistavalta/ epämiellyttävältä
0 – minulla ei ole kokemusta tilanteesta

73. Englanninkielisen tekstin lukeminen ääneen parille.	1	2	3	4	0
74. Englanninkielisen tekstin lukeminen ääneen opettajan ja muun luokan kuullen.	1	2	3	4	0
75. Ohjeiden kysyminen opettajalta englanniksi.	1	2	3	4	0
76. Muiden kuin tehtävään liittyvien kysymysten esittäminen opettajalle englanniksi.	1	2	3	4	0
77. Tehtävien tarkistaminen viittaamalla .	1	2	3	4	0
78. Tehtävien tarkistaminen siten, että vastataan järjestyksessä .	1	2	3	4	0
79. Opettajan kysymyksiin vastaaminen englanniksi omin sanoin viittaamalla .	1	2	3	4	0
80. Opettajan kysymyksiin vastaaminen englanniksi omin sanoin siten, että opettaja valitsee vastaajan satunnaisesti .	1	2	3	4	0
81. Englannin suulliset tehtävät, joissa on malli annettu suomeksi valmiina (tyypillisimmillään "A vs. B" –parikeskustelut)	1	2	3	4	0
82. Vapaamuotoinen keskustelu annetusta aiheesta parin kanssa englanniksi.	1	2	3	4	0

83. Vapaamuotoinen keskustelu annetusta aiheesta pienryhmissä englanniksi.	1	2	3	4	0
84. Omien ajatusten ilmaiseminen englanniksi koko luokan kuullen.	1	2	3	4	0
85. Pelit ja leikit, joissa pitää puhua englantia.	1	2	3	4	0
86. Roolileikit tai eläytymisharjoitukset englanniksi.	1	2	3	4	0
87. Luokan edessä näytteleminen englanniksi.	1	2	3	4	0
88. Väittely parin kanssa englanniksi muun luokan kuullen.	1	2	3	4	0
89. Väittely ryhmittäin englanniksi muun luokan kuullen.	1	2	3	4	0
90. Esitelmä tai puhe englanniksi luokan edessä siten, että saa käyttää muistiinpanoja apuna.	1	2	3	4	0
91. Esitelmä tai puhe englanniksi luokan edessä ilman muistiinpanoja.	1	2	3	4	0
92. Esitelmä tai puhe englanniksi omalta paikalta muistiinpanot apuna.	1	2	3	4	0
93. Esitelmä tai puhe englanniksi omalta paikalta ilman muistiinpanoja.	1	2	3	4	0
94. Puhuminen opettajan kanssa kahden kesken englanniksi.	1	2	3	4	0
95. Englannin ääntämisharjoitukset kielistudiossa siten, että opettaja saattaa kuunnella ja korjata sinua.	1	2	3	4	0
96. Kysymysten esittäminen syntyperäiselle puhujalle (esim. vaihto-oppilaalle) oppitunnilla.	1	2	3	4	0

VI Englannin puhumisen tuntemusten syitä

Mikäli englannin puhuminen tuntuu ahdistavalta tai mikäli arastelet/ jännität englannin puhumista, minkä arvelet olevan syynä siihen? Arvioi, missä määrin seuraavat seikat ovat syynä siihen, mikäli arastelet/jännität englannin puhumista oppitunnilla ja oppitunnin ulkopuolella.

Vastaathan, vaikka et arkailisi englannin puhumista ollenkaan!

Merkitse viivalle jokin vastauksista 1—4. **Huom:** kohtia a.—l. ei ole tarkoitus pistää tärkeysjärjestykseen, eli voit toki antaa saman vastauksen (numeron) useamman kerran.

- 1 – ei lainkaan merkittävä syy arkailuuni/ jännittämiseeni
2 – hieman merkittävä syy arkailuuni/ jännittämiseeni
3 – melko merkittävä syy arkailuuni/ jännittämiseeni
4 – hyvin merkittävä syy arkailuuni/ jännittämiseeni

	oppitunnilla	tunnin ulkopuolella
a. ryhmän ilmapiiri	_____	_____
b. opettaja	_____	xxxxx
c. arvioinnin kohteena oleminen	_____	_____
d. oma osaamattomuus	_____	_____
e. joku tietty oppilas/henkilö tai tietty oppilaat/henkilöt	_____	_____
f. oma yleinen epävarmuus tai rohkeuden puute	_____	_____
g. oma täydellisyyden tavoittelu	_____	_____
h. käytetyt tehtävät ja työtavat	_____	xxxxx
i. harjoituksen ja kokemuksen puute	_____	_____
j. kannustuksen puute	_____	_____
k. aiemmat huonot kokemukset englannin puhumisesta	_____	_____
l. jokin muu, mikä? _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Lisättävää? Kommentoitavaa? Voit kommentoida tähän omia vastauksiasi, kyselyä tai englannin puhumista ylipäänsä. (Muista merkitä sen kysymyksen/väitelauseen numero, mitä kommentoit.)

Erittäin suuri kiitos avustasi ja aurinkoista kesää!! ☺ ☺ ☺

Appendix 2: Original Interview Quotes

8.1.1. Low Self-Assessed English Proficiency

“Koen et osaan ääntää ihan kiitettävästi – ja sit pystyy niinku soveltaa et löytää toiset ilmasut joilleki sanoille – et ihan niinku suhteellisen luontevaa.” (7, female, low CA)

“Mul on aina toi vähän et toi kielioppipuoli on huonompi mut mä pärjään mun mielestä ihan hyvin niinku suullisesti. – Jos mä en jotain sanaa tiedä ni mä osaan selittää sen. – ja vaik en mä osaakaan ja tulis jotain ongelmii aina välil sillei et ei osaa tai muista jotain sanaa mut sit koittaa vaan selittää.” (8, female, low CA)

“Aika moni niinku on et ‘en mä osaa sanoo tätä ni en mä sano sitte mitään’, ni mä kuitenkin yritän jotenki ees huonosti niinku saada sen asian esille.” (10, female, low CA)

“Mä pystyn silleen ihan perustilanteissa pärjään englannin kielel mut ei mul niinku mikään älyttömän hyvä sanavarasto oo todellakaan niinku et vois olla kehittämistäkin... – Siel kielikurssilla se alko tullen sit luonnostaan et sit sitä oli kiva puhuu mut nyt jos mun pitäis alkaa sitä jossain vääntään nii en mä tiedä... – Varmaan se et mä en nyt ihan älyttömästi kato tv:tä enkä kuuntele mitään et englannin kieli ei oo tavallaan kuitenkaan mua lähellä. Et jos mä niinku kuulisin sitä ja se tulis lähemmäs mun elämää ni totta kai mä osaisin puhuu sitä paremmin ja niinku, siit tulis helpompaa mulle. Jos mä käyttäisin sitä ni sit siit tulis niinku paljon helpompaa ja sit se ujouski lähtis tai se et mä pelkään et mä meen lukkoon.” (1, female, high CA)

“Se on just siin englannin kieles ku sitä ei oo tottunu kuitenkaan niinku koko aika puhumaan, et sillon tällön ni siihen ei oo ehkä tottunukaan sinänsä ni, se sit tuntuu vähän pelottavaltaki alkaa, ainaki alottamaan jotain keskusteluu englanniks et mielummin vastailee vaikka kysymyksiin.” (5, male, high CA)

8.1.2. The Lack of Oral Practise in EFL Classes

“No, meillon yleensä sellaset – mä en tiedä sanotaaks niitä ihan vaan AB –lapuiks niinku et toisil on se A-lappu ja toisel B-lappu ja sit niinku, toisil on se oikee englanninkielinen vastaus ja toinen yrittää siit suomennoksest kääntää sitä. Ja sit yleensä vaan luetaan kappaletta tai tehdään jotain käännöstehtävii kirjast parin kanssa tai yksin. Aika harvoin keskustellaan vapaasti mitään.” (1, female, high CA)

“Aika paljon semmost perinteistä et just sanojen toistoo ja sit vähän pientä keskusteluu ja.. et aika kielioppipainotteista – Meillä on ylivoimaisesti eniten pariharjotuksii, et niit on niinku aina ollu, et on jotkut tietyt paperit ja sitte käännetään vaik lauseita tai sanoja tai täytetään jotain aukko kohtia ni, ja sit toisel on se vastaus ja, tällai on tosi paljon pelattu ja... sit on ain sillon tällön kans just niinku puheita ja esitelmii.” (7, female, low CA)

“Me luetaan kappaleita pareittain tai sit saadaan semmoset ”A-B” –laput sitte... et ei siel niinku ihmeellisesti puhuta.” (11, male, low CA)

“Aika semmosta mitänsanomatonta, ei tunneila opi mitään jännää erityisemmin... ja lukiossa se on ollu nyt vieläki turhempaa, että me vaan jysätään niitä tehtäviä ja must tuntuu et jos joku ei pääse niinku oikeesti käyttämään englantia, ku varsinki jos luokkatoverit on vähän arempii niinku meiän koulus tuntuu olevan ni ei siel saa mitään ikinä tehtyy ja sit ei puhu englantii vaik kokonaiseen vuoteen.” (10, female, low CA)

“[Toivoisin et siel olis] lähinnä joku käytännön harjotus tai tälleen, se on hirveen vaikee silleen selittää ku ei oo ikinä oikeen saanu mahdollisuutta sellaseen kuitenkaan. Ja sit ku mä puhun englantia ni käytän

ihan liian hienoja sanoja joita en osaa ees lausua kunnolla, ku oon lukenu ne vaan kirjasta.” (10, female, low CA)

“Toivon puheosuutta enemmän, koska se ei oo mun mielest ainakaan tasapainossa, et toisinaan ja useinkin on tuntei jolloin ei puhuta ollenkaan, et se on just sitä et on tehtäviä ja on kielioppijuttuja mihin paneudutaan – – puhetta on, mitäköhän nyt karkeesti sanois, voi olla joku kolmasosa, niinku, vaik koko kurssista, jos sitäkään.” (7, female, low CA)

“Oppituntien pitäis olla rutkasti pidempii ku menis niinku aikaa sit muodostaa keskusteluaki että – – mut kyl se auttais jos sitä vaan harjottelis.” (6, female, high CA)

“Mun mielest ois kiva jos siellä puhuttais enemmän englantii. Jotenki, jotenki semmosii tehtävii mis ei pysty kierteleen sitä, et pystyis puhuu suomee. – – Mun mielest aika monet suomalaiset kaipaa vähän tätä että puhuttais enemmän englantia ääneen.” (8, female, low CA)

“Tunneilla on varmaan [suhteessa] 80-20 kirjallista harjotusta. Meillä on niin paljon kirjallisii töitä et se on se yks [suullinen] tehtävä ja sit aletaan tekee niit joku kuus tehtävää niit kirjallisia. – – Mulle ainaki ois paljon parempi jos ois enemmän suullisii harjotuksii ni oppis. Koska eihän sil oo mitään välii jos mä meen ulkomaille, ni ei sil oo mitään välii osaanko mä jonku partisiipin preesensin tai mitä nyt ikinä onkaan, vaan sillä et osaanko mä niinku tavallisesti keskustella asioista et... kukaan ulkomaalainen tuskin kiinnittää mun virheisiin huomiota.” (4, female, high CA)

“Aluks mä olin aika ujo siel kielikurssilla, et mä en kauheesti uskaltanu puhuu mut – – kyl sitä sit alko puhuu ja se meni ihan hyvin siin lopulta et alko tulee luontevasti et ei tarvinnu enää joka lausetta miettii silleen erikseen et mitäs mä nyt sanonkaan.” (1, female, high CA)

“Ku lähti sinne Jenkkeihin ni aluks oli sellanen vähän muuri, mut sit ku rentoutu ni sit se vaan lähti tulee silleen.” (2, female, high CA)

“Aluks aina puhe vähän sillei takeltelee ja tulee paljon enemmän virheitä mut sit ku on vähän aikaa puhunu sitä, ni sit se niinku sujuu heti paljon paremmin ja sit, sit mä uskallan taas puhuu ja sit mua ei haittaa vaik niit tulee sen jälkeen niit virheitä.” (8, female, low CA)

“Nyt ku mä en oo puhunu englantia niin sit se vähän takkuilee, mut heti jos mä oon pari päivää tai jonki aikaa niinku saanu jutella englantia vapaasti ni sit se tulee jo paljon luontevammin. – – Sen kielikurssin jälkeen mä en oo enää miettiny niin paljoo mitä mä sanon”. (10, female, low CA)

“Se on tavallaan sinänsä hyvä ettei tost noin vaan tee virheitä ja tuu nolatuks mut sikäli jos niinku oliski niinku vastannuki oikein siihen opettajan kysymykseen... – – et sit jos niinku pelkää tekevänsä virheen niin sit ei tajuukaan viitata, et ois voinu sit loistaa vähän ja – – antaa kuvan opettajalle et on niinku tunnillaki aktiivisempi.” (6, female, high CA)

8.1.3. Insufficient English Proficiency: True Self vs. Limited Self

“Muilla tunneilla mä oon kyl tosi erilainen. Mul on niinku äikän numero kymppi. – – Noi muut tunnit on niin paljon rennompia, niinku mun kannalta, ja mä pystyn oikeesti hengittää niillä tunneilla. – – Jos miettii et mä opiskelisin vaik maantiedettä englanniks niin... kyl se ois ihan hauskaa mut en mä varmaan puhuis siel tunneilla niin paljoo. – – Kyl mä silleen aika puhelias ja tosi sosiaalinen olen, et ei se niinku, kyl mun se ujous rajottuu aika paljon niille kielten tunneille.” (3, female, high CA)

“Englannin tunneilla mä oon yleensä kyl tosi hiljaa ku kaikil muil tunneil sit juttuu tulee silleen et maikat joutuu sanoon et nyt hiljaa – – se johtuu ainaki siitä opettajasta ja siit et ei niinku tuu niin automaattisesti se puhe... ni sit vaan jättää puhumatta.” (4, female, high CA)

“Totta kai mä oon just luontevampi ku mä puhun äidinkieltä, – – jos mä puhun pelkkää englantii niin jää varmaan aika suppee kuva siit millanen mä oon. – – Oon paljon sosiaalisempi äidinkielellä.” (1, female, high CA)

“Suomi on mulla silleen niinku paremmin hallussa ja sit tavallaan ajatteleeki suomeks niin et... et kyl mä sitä sit myös puhun rohkeammin.” (6, female, high CA)

“Mä oon eri ihminen englanniksi, koska ei oo ihan niin laajaa sanastoo ku äidinkielessä et ei pysty ihan sitä omaa persoonaa siinä puheessa tuoda esiin... et ehkä se puhe on asiatyylisempää – ja vähän ehkä pintapuolisempaa.” (7, female, low CA)

“Jos mun pitää puhuu englantia ni mä oon aluks vähän ujompi. Mut kyllä mä niinku suomeks uskallan puhua ongelmitta.” (8, female, low CA)

“Mä oon kauheen huono puhuun silleen julkisesti, se on sellast tosi kökköä ja mua rupee jännittää. Jos mua jännittää puhua jossain tilantees ni sit se ei vaan tuu, ei suomeksi eikä englanniksi.” (2, female, high CA)

8.1.4. The Concern Over Errors

“Ei mua hirveesti häiritse jos teen virheen, mä vaan mietin et tarviikohan sitä korjaa et ei nyt tuu väärinkäsityksiä. – – Meil on niin rentoo porukkaa koulus. Jos tulee virhe ni joko sille nauretaan tai sit ei kukaan ees reagoi siihen. Ja yleensä vaan ne kaverit siinä ympärillä nauraa. Ei se mua häiritse ollenkaan. (11, male, low CA)

“Mä nolostun siitä aina vähän, että mä tein virheen mut kyl mä sit yritän korjata sen. – – Kyl mä näistä kielellisistä jutuista pääsen yli, koska niitä tulee koko ajan niin paljon niit virheitä.” (10, female, low CA)

“Mä pääsen kyl helposti yli virheistä, et en mä stressaa siit mitenkään. – – Mä opin siitä.” (9, female, low CA)

“Ei mua haittaa – – mä saatan korjata myöhemmin et ai nii joo, mä sanoinki ton nyt vähän väärin, mut ei se mitään. – – ku mä huomaan sen ni sit tulee vähän semmonen nolo olo, mut sit jos ei se toinen oo reagoinu siihen mitenkään ni sit mä yritän olla sillei tavallisesti.” (8, female, low CA)

“Niin moni oppilas tekee virheitä, ja ku mä en oo kuitenkaan mikään ujo ihminen, niin ei se silleen mua yleensä mitenkään haittaa.” (4, female, high CA)

“Kyl siin aina on hetken sellanen nolo olo – – mut kyl mä sit sen korjaan ihan luontevasti ja jatkan siit eteenpäin. Mul on sitä perfektionistitaustaa ni sit se on mentävä oikein.” (1, female, high CA)

“Siinä tulee sellanen hetkellinen nolo tunne, mut mä vaan aattelen et kaikki ihmiset ei oo täydellisiä... että ei se mitään.” (6, female, high CA)

“No, yleensä mä vaan nauran itselleni... kyl mä joskus otan virheet kyl aika vakavasti, mut niitä on vaan pakko kestää.” (3, female, high CA)

“Se on ihan katastrofi, jos tulee virhe – – jos mä ite huomaan sen mun virheen ni sit se harmittaa mua ihan kauheesti. mieluummin mä vältän puhumista. – – Mä oon tosi arka tekeen virheitä. (2, female, high CA)

“Mä pelkään et tulee niit mokii, silleen et ei uskalla puhuu silleen niinku suoraan, vaan koittaa puhuu mahollimman niinku oikeaoppisesti, ja siinä saattaa sit senki takii jäädä jotain sanomatta.” (5, male, high CA)

“Virheitä jää kyl silleen harmitteleen kauheen pitkäks aikaa et ‘vitsi ku ois pitäny tehdä silleen’ ja rupee miettiin et miten ois pitäny vastaa paremmin. – – ja sit seuraaval kerralla yrittää vielä enemmän välttää sitä et joutuu silleen, jäätymään. – – Periaatteessahan se ois niinku itelleen hyvä et myös puhuis siel, mut jotenki ku vaan aattelee sitä et ‘no selviydyn siitä kokeesta kuitenkin ihan hyvin että jätetään se sinne et ei nyt tarvii ja’... – – et parempi nyt vaan olla hiljaa ni ei ainakaan epäonnistu. – – On vaan helpompi välttää niit tilanteita joissa voi tehdä virheen.” (2, female, high CA)

“Aattelen vaan et ens kerralla mä koitan et mä pääsen vaik käyttään sitä samaa juttuu uudestaan ni et mä osaan sen. Tai siihen mä pyrin.” (8, female, low CA)

8.1.5. Teacher’s Error Correction

“Se korjaaminen tuntuu aika nololta.” (3, female, high CA)

“Se tuntuu vähän pahemmalt jos se opettaja siin luokan edes alkaa sillei et... sit kaikki aattelee et mä oon ihan huono ja sit koko tunnin ajaks tulee sellai ikävä fiilis.” (6, female, high CA)

“Se häiritsee jos se korjaa koko luokan edessä mut ei sillon jos on vaan kahden kesken.” (10, female, low CA)

“Onhan se tärkeit et se niit virheitä korjaa... mut välil se vois mun mielest sanoo esimerkiks jotain positiivistaki.” (4, female, high CA)

“Kyl se on ihan hyvä et se ope korjaa, mut kyl siitä jää vähän sellanen et ‘ähh, vitsi, ois toi pitäny tietää et älä nyt korjaa mua, et kyl mä nyt oisin ton tienny, se oli vaan vahinko’.” (2, female, high CA)

“Enemmän mun mielest se tuntuu helpottavalta ku ahdistavalta, koska sit niinku pystyy jatkaan eteenpäin.” (7, female, low CA)

“Välillä se on mulle ihan sama ja välillä se on noloo, koska kaikki oppilaat kuuntele ja kattoo jos mä sanon jotenki väärin.” (9, female, low CA)

“Ei siinä korjailussa oo ainakaan mulle mitään ongelmaa, sen ehkä kokee kuitenkin semmosena niinku rakentavana palautteena... haluan kuitenkin oppii koko ajan lisää ja kehittyä niin on jotenki asennoitunu siihen et sen opettajan kautta sitte saa sitä opetusta,” (5, male, high CA)

“Mä haluan et mun lausuminen menis oikeen ja sit se ei haittaa jos sitä korjataan, koska mä haluan et mä lausun sen sit oikein ku mä puhun jolleki englanninkieliselle.” (8, female, low CA)

8.1.6. External Demands and Expectations for Oral English Performance

“Kylhän ihmiset ja opettajaki yleensä niinku odottaa et lukiolaiset ilman muuta osaa puhua enkuks ja sillai tosi sujuvasti... ne muutki oppilaat olettaa et puhuu yhtä hyvin ku neki, jos ne on niinku paljon kehittyneempi... ettei oo jääny sinne ala-astetasolle. – – Se on tavallaan universaali kieli, että se kuuluu jokaisen taitoihin... et kaikkien ei välttämättä tarvi tietää ehkä historiasta mut oletetaan et se englanti on niinku perustaitoja.” (6, female, high CA)

“Se pelko puhua englantia on kehittyny täs vuosien varrella. – – Se on varmaan ku on suuremmat odotukset ja paineet [onnistua], ja koko ajan pitäis olla parempi vaan.” (2, female, high CA)

“Joittenki mielestä on naurettavaa et joku osaa huonosti englantia. – – Must jotenki tuntuu et mun ikästen parissa se on semmonen perustaito, tavallaan et se on vähän niinku sä et osais lukee jos sä et osaa kunnol englantii.” (3, female, high CA)

“Aika monet tietää et mä oon tosi tarkkaa oikeesta ääntämisestä, ni sit mä en haluu ite tehdä niitä virheitä.” (8, female, low CA)

“Ehkä mä vaadin itseltäni, ja sit monet muut, ku ne tietää et mä lausun hyvin englantia, ni ehkä ne vaatii just sitä et toi puhuu nyt täydellisesti. – – Ja sit tuntuu et ihmiset vaan kattoo ja odottaa et mä mokaan.” (9, female, low CA)

“Ku mentiin Jenkkeihin niin ne oli odottanu et me puhuttas paljon huonommin englantia, et ne oli tosi yllättyneitä et ‘tehän puhutte tosi hyvin ja mehän ymmärretään kaikki!’ – Se oli sit loppujen lopuksi tosi helppoo puhuu just sen takii niille.” (2, female, high CA)

8.1.7. Internal Demands for Oral English Performance

“Toisten edessä puhuminen ei ole mulle ongelma, jos puhun virheettömästi.” (6, female, high CA)

“Haluun pitää yllä sen tietyn tason et kyl se sit haittaa jos [mun arvosanat] laskee... – ja kyl se laittaa paineita jos se tuntuu et se laskee.” (2, female, high CA)

“Virheettömästi puhuminen ei todellakaan oo mille mitenkään iso juttu, en stressaa sitä et jos tulee virheitä tai jos joku menee väärin et se ei oo, ei oo ollu ikinä mulle semmonen isku mihinkään. – Oon kunnianhimonen mut en liian. – Yleensä semmost yhteenpelaamistahan se puhuminenki on aina.” (7, female, low CA)

“Jotenki sitä vaan niinku ite enemmän pelkää et ite epäonnistuu, ei ei niin välttämättä se muiden reaktio. – En mä muista sellasta tilannetta et mä oisin tehny mokaan jossain luokan edessä ja sit mulle ois naurettu tai jotain, ei, se on jotenki ihan vieraan tuntunen, mut se on lähinnä se et mä haluun vaan ite olla silleen hyvä siinä... ja se jotenki vaikuttaa niinku itteen enemmän. – En mä yhtään pelkää sitä et joku nauraa mulle suoranaisesti vaan enemmän mä pelkään sitä et mä oon ite pettynyt itteeni siin tilanteessa.” (2, female, high CA)

“Mä oon aika perfektionisti, mä oon ollu aina sielt paremmast päästä niit oppilaita ja opiskelijoita, ni sit jos mä en saakaan niinku sitä hyvää ni sit se jotenki niinku tuo sen kammon siihen kans et mä en ookaan se sielt hyvästä päästä oleva oppilas.” (1, female, high CA)

sen takii just varmaan onki joskus kynnys vähän puhuu just joskus tunnilla ku on just ellen mä sit tasan tarkkaan tiedä mitä mä sanon ni en mä haluu sanoo mut sen takii just semmonen rento puhuminen on just helpompaa koska se ei oo niin vakavaa et jos siel tulee välil pikkuvirhe (1, female, high CA)

“Kyl mä uskon et ne virheet niinku oikeesti sallitaan. Se on vaan jotenki mun oma sellanen suhtautuminen itseeni et mä en saa tehdä virheitä tai epäroidä. – Kai mua vielä vähän niinku inhottaa samaan aikaan se et mä koen olevani hirveen huono englannissa, ja samaan aikaan et mun täytyy olla niinku parempi koko aika, ja sit mä vertaan itteeni kauheesti muihin oppilaisiin.” (3, female, high CA)

“Mä asetan ihan hirveesti vaatimuksii ittelleni, sen näkee varmaan mun todistuksestaki, mä oon semmonen ihminen joka oikeesti lukee viiteen asti aamulla kokeisiin. – Et kyl mä ite, ite, ite aiheutan kaikki vaatimukset ittelleni, et se on niinku oman pään sisällä. – Ja jos kattoo niitä kymppirivistöjä muissa aineissa, ni verrattuna siihen enkusta tulee huonoimmat numerot.” (4, female, high CA)

“Mä haluun pitää yllä sen tietyn tason kaikissa aineissa joita pidän tärkeänä, tai joissa mä tunnen olevani hyvä, ja siitä tulee sit just niitä paineita onnistua. – Koulumenestys nyt on ollu silleen aina tärkeä mulle, ei nyt koko elämä mut siis, se on niinku yks osa miten periaattees arvottaa myös itteensä niinku sen kautta et mitä numeroita saa – ja siks just haluis pitää myös yllä sitä tasoa [englannissa] et ei tuu sit sitä et arvosanat romahtais ja sit tuntuis et on ihan paska.” (2, female, high CA)

8.1.8. Negative Outcome Expectations

“Mä oon varma et mä vaan niinku alan änkyyttään ‘ööö ööööö, ja sit mä en vaan niinku saa mitään sanaa suustani ja sit se ope kysyy, että ‘nyt joku auttaa häntä’ – Siitä tulee olo et on tosi huono niinku siin kielessä, että muiden täytyy ihan oikeen auttaa sua et sä saat niinku vastauksen sanottuu. (6, female, high CA)

“Mä odotin et se [esitelmä] menis paljon huonommin. Mä vaan toivoin et se on ohi, et ei muuta väliä... mut se meni hyvin ja mä pääsin siit kurssist läpi mitä mä en todellakaan odottanu. (1, female, high CA)

“Jos jossain vaikeessa paikassa onnistuu tosi hyvin, niin se jää hyvin mieleen ja sit sen muistaa sitte myöhemminki, ainaki joskus jos kokee sillä hetkellä et ei ehkä oo niin hyvä puhumaan, ni sitä tulee mieleen helposti ne et on joskus tullu niit onnistumisiiki”. (5, male, high CA)

“Me esiteltiin meidän toimintaa belgialaisille englanniks, ja sen reissun jälkeen mul oli tosi hyvä olo englannin puhumisesta. – Pääsi harjottaan omaa kielitaitoaan niin paljon, et se alko niinku luistaan... ja sit kans tuli ymmärretyks oikeesti, kun oli joku ihminen jolle ei voi korjata suomeks sitä mitä puhuu... – Ja sillä oikeakielisyydellä ei ollu niin väliä tavallaan, en mä sitä niinku pelänny eikä ne niinku naureskellu. Ja sit kans se, että kun se esittely oli mun ja yhden toisen niinku vastuulla ja me saatiin kans toisistamme aika paljon tukea ja se oli tosi hieno juttu.” (7, female, high CA)

8.1.9. The Concern Over Evaluation

“Se on paljon vaikeempaa puhua siel luokas ku siel se puhuminen ei oo sellast rentoo. Se on koko ajan sitä näyttöä sille opettajalle, ja sit jos tulee virhe ni sitä jää silleen murehtiin. Ku ei oppitunnin ulkopuolella oo sellast samanlaista arvosteluu mukana. Luokassa kumminki pitäis olla koko ajan parhaimmillaan. – Sit ku just jossain kaveriporukas puhuu englantia niin se on paljon helpompaa ja rennompaa ja sillon se kans tulee, ku ei siin tarvi niinku näyttää tai todistella mitään, tai ei kukaan tuu antaan siit sulle numeroo.” (2, female, high CA)

“Jos mä oisin työelämäs ni se ois ihan eri asia mun puhuu siel englantii, koska mul ei oo koko ajan jotain opettajaa, joka arvioi sitä miten mä suoriudun siitä tehtävästä. Sit on helpompi puhuuki sitä, ei tarvi koko ajan jännittää et tää opettaja on siel taustalla.” (1, female, high CA)

“Siinä on eroa et puhuuko englantia luokassa vai muualla, koska siellä sä oot tietys mieles niinku arvioinnin kohteena. Se vaikuttaa sun arvosanaan, jossain määrin ainaki. Ja just totta kai ku on muu sama ikäryhmä siin vieressä ni kokee tietynlaist painostusta enemmän ku sit vapaissa tilanteissa, niinku, sillai vapaa-ajalla – koska tietää et kaikki on nuoria ja sit arvostellaan paljon ja vertaillaan ja kilpaillaan paljon. – Kyl mä koen et mä jännitän jonkin verran sitä luokassa puhumista, mut tämmöses ulkopuolises tilanteessa mä koen et on vapaampaa, koska ei tarvi kohdistaa jolleki arvostelevalle ryhmälle sitä mitenkään.” (7, female, low CA)

“Mun on hyvin vaikee puhuu kaikkien kuullen luokassa, koska kaikki tavallaan kattoo et puhutko sä oikeen vai väärin... se on niin mieletön paine. – Siellä Thaimaassa mä en oikeen ajatellu ees et puhunko mä väärin vai oikeen et kuhan mua nyt vaan ymmärretään.” (3, female, high CA)

8.1.10. The Concern Over the Impression Made on Others

“Sitä antaa sellasen huonon kuvan muille ku ei osaa puhuu englantia. Siks just toivoiski et se pari ois vähän huonompi ku ite ku tehdään paritöitä.” (6, female, high CA)

“Kyl mä yritän puhua mahdollisimman oikeaoppisesti, ja jos mä teen virheen ni kyl sitä alkaa ajattelemaan et jos ne muut pitää mua huonona tai alottelijana, vaik ite tietää sen tasonsa. – En mä pyri täydellisyyteen mut... siis onhan se nyt kuitenkin et mä haluan puhuu silleen mahdollisimman silleen niinku selvää englantia, et se on niinku kielipillistestiki sujuvaa et sitä sitten ymmärtää ihan kunnolla. Ja silleen sen imagonki takii sitte, et sais semmosen kuvan et on opiskellu sitä hyvin ja pitkään.” (5, male, high CA)

“Mä lähinnä pelkään et et mä just teen jonku virheen ja sit mut leimataan jotenki niinku, oudoks tai hassuks tai jotain.” (2, female, high CA)

“[Kun mä teen virheitä] niin saatan ajatella et nyt ne muut kuvittelee etten osaa ollenkaan.” (11, male, low CA)

8.1.11. Prior Teachers and Prior Experiences

“[Yläasteella] mun opettaja oli kauheen tiukka, ehkä huonolki taval tiukka – se alko jo niinku pelottaaki periaattees se opettaja silleen et siihen ei saanu kontaktii – se oli vaan se määrääjä eikä mitään muuta. Aina oli pakko onnistuu – ainoo mahdollisuus oli et sä onnistut täydellisesti, et hän niinku vaati sult ihan mielettömästi. – Ja sit jos sä teitki ite jonku ja onnistuit kerrankin, niinku teit tosi paljon töitä jonkun eteen, sit hän sano et ei et tää ei oo sun omatekemä... – Sielt lähti varmaan sellanen tietynlainen kammo – jos silloin ois ollu todella hyvä opettaja niin ois varmaan lähteny eri suuntiin mun opiskelut. – Tuntui et ihan sama miten paljon mä teen töitä ni se ei riitä. – Kyl mä siel olin niin hiljaa ku ikinä pystyy oleen.” (1, female, high CA)

“Mun kokemukset yläasteen englannin tunneista on pääosin negatiivisia. – Yläasteella mul oli ihan hirvee natsiopettaja, joka sai mut inhoomaan englannin opiskelua. – Se oli must vaan pelottava. Se oli varmasti hyvä opettaja, ja jos mul ois nyt sen tuntei ni kyl mä todennäköisesti selviäisin siitä... mut mä rupesin inhoomaan englantia ylipäättään, koska mä olin niin huono sillon, niinku yläasteella. – Se oli tosi vaativa, ja sil oli aika raju läppää... kyl mä nyt sen kestäisin oikeesti mut sillon mä olin niin arka jotenki ja... se oli mulle vähän semmonen arka juttu ylipäättään... koska mua hävetti se et mä en osannu englantii kauheen hyvin, koska mun kaikki sisarukset on niinku ihan loistavii englannissa. – Ja sit se maikka kans, ku mun isovelji oli ollu sen luokalla, niin se vertas koko aika mun isoveljee muhun, tyyliin et ‘se on niin hyvä’, ja se oli aika hirveetä. – se oikeesti niinku kerto mulle välillä et miten hyvin mun broidi oli tehny kaikkee jotain samoja juttuja – ja se tuntu vähän nöyryyttävältä, koska mä en pystyny samaan tasoon. – Noi yläaste-ala-astekokemukset vaikuttaa tällä hetkellä mun opiskeluun aika paljon, just se, et mä en viittaa enkun tunneilla. Se tulee sieltä yläasteelta.” (3, female, high CA)

“Oli yks tällanen mun kaveri joka puhu täydellistä englantia ja se ope aina kysy häneltä ja... oikeen viel vähän niinku sillee et sit sille toiselle tai sille joka oli vastannu väärin tuli ehkä huono olo tai paha mieli, et silleen et jos sä et nyt tähän osaa vastata ni kysytään sit tältä toiselta joka osaa nää kaikki.” (1, female, high CA)

“Mä sillon innostuin siitä ku mulle tuli kuudennel luokal opettaja Phoenixista... se oli tosi kannustava ja mä yleensä puhuin siellä aina tosi paljon. – Kyl mä sen kuudennen luokan jälkeen oon tykänny paljon enemmän englannista.” (8, female, low CA)

“Mul oli ala-asteella ja yläasteella sama englannin maikka, ja se oli tosi hyvä opettaja, sil oli semmonen brittiaksentti jopa. Se opetti meit silleen kiinnostavasti ja motivoivasti. – Se oli tosi ystävällinen, et se ei ollu vaan opettaja. – Se ei ollu mitenkään tiukka tai jotain et se oli tosi rento – ja ku se puhu meille ni se puhu pelkästään englantia.” (9, female, low CA)

8.1.12. The Current Teacher's Personality and Actions

“Nykyisin opet on ystävällisiä ja ottaa jokaisen opiskelijan erikseen huomioon – ja niinku osaa kannustaa oppimaan ja sanoo et ‘hyvä’ jos ne huomaa et on niinku tehny parannuksen ja tekee töitä.” (1, female, high CA)

“Opettaja on hirveen iso motivaattori – sillä on yllättävän suuri vaikutus.” (7, female, low CA)

“Maikka vaikuttaa siihen ilmapiiriin kauheesti. Mul vaihtuu opettaja aika usein, englantia opettaa kolmenljä eri maikkaa. – Joillaki tunneilla on ihan hiljasta ja painostavaa... ja kaikki on tosi vakavia. – Mut joillain tunneilla se on leikkisämpää ja vapaampaa.” (3, female, high CA)

“Meidän ope on mun mielest tosi epäreilu kaikkia kohtaan... se on ihan tajuttoman hyvä niinku maikkana, siis niinku opettaa, ihan se, tietää kaikki asiat ja se osaa niinku opettaa tosi hyvin... mut se on niinku niin pilkunviilaaja ku vaan ihminen voi olla, ja se on välil ahistavaa sen tunneilla. Ku se ei ikinä

sit taas kehu, vaan se aina sieltä virheet poimii. – Se jotenki kehuu aina kaikkia tiettyjä oppilaita ja ottaa silmätikuiksi jotkut.” (4, female, high CA)

8.1.13. The Size and Familiarity of Audience

“Jos siinä yleisössä on enimmäkseen joitakin, joita mä tunnen, ni mä voin vetää sen sujuvasti, mut jos siel on tosi paljon ihmisii, joita mä en tunne, ni sit mä oon silleen ‘okei nyt mä en, nyt tää [esitelmä] ei mee hyvin’.” (9, female, low CA)

“Mitä enemmän ihmisii, sitä enemmän jännitystä... ehkä jossain vaihees tulee semmonen kohta et ei oo välii sinänsä, et jos se menee sen tietyn ihmisrajan yli, että tuleeks sit enemmän vai vähemmän et se tuntuu samalta... mut sit jos se hyppää taas johonki et pitäis koko koululle esiintyy, ni sit se ois varmaan aika vaikeeta.” (5, male, high CA)

“Mua ei ahdista ollenkaan puhua parin kanssa mut pienryhmissä mä men aika lukkoon jos mä en tunne niit ihmisii.” (1, female, high CA)

“Jos se huone on jotain hyvii ystävii ja tuttuja täynnä, sitä [esitelmää] ei silleen jännitä niin samalla tavalla ja sujuu luontevammin kaikki... mut sit jos siel on tosi paljon kaikkii tuntemattomii ihmisii, joitten kaa ei oo keskustellu, tai sit jotain semmosii samanikäsiä niinku poikii enimmäkseen, jotka on supersosiaalisii koulussa ja jotka koko koulu tuntee... niin sitä jännittää niitten edes – – miettii et mitä neki ajattelee.” (5, male, high CA)

“Se on vaan jotenki helpompi puhuu tutuille silleen... siin tulee se tietty rentous, ei tarvi näyttää mitään. Ei tarvi niinku olla silleen ‘kyl mä osaan tän, huomaatsä?’. – – Mä vaan lähinnä pelkään et mä just teen jonku virheen ja sit mut leimataan jotenki niinku, oudoks tai hassuks tai jotain.” (2, female, high CA)

“Kuvitellaan et mul ois niinku tuntematon pari jonka kaa mä juttelisin... se on helpompaa, koska – – siin on kuitenkin vaan se yks henkilö ja... – – sit jos on niinku iso ryhmä, tai no, pieni ryhmä mut kumminki jos mä en tunne niit ihmisii, niin jotenki aina mitä enemmän ihmisii on, niin jotenki se on silleen vaikeempaa. Et siin on kuitenkin isompi joukko ihmisii jotka sit huomaa jos mä epäonnistun et ei se haittaa jos se on se yks. Mut sit jos on ryhmä mun hyvii ystävii ni kyl mä silloin ihan hyvin pystyn puhuun.” (2, female, low CA)

“Kaikist eniten jännittää sillen jos periaattees tuntee jonkun tyyppiä, mut sit ei kuitenkaan oikeestaan ikinä oo sen kanssa jutellu, et puolittuu niinku... sitte pelkää, että jos mokaa ni sit voi vahingossaki joskus törmää siihen... mut ei mua kavereitten kans haittaa vaik ny vähän saattaiski nolaa ittensä, että huumorilla vaan. – – Sitte just jos alkaa oleen sitä porukkaa enemmän ni sillen alkaa kyl jännittää.” (11, male, low CA)

“Ku ystävien kaa puhuu niin se englantia tulee helpommin ja luontevammin, et sitä ei kauheesti mieti et miten tää pitäis ääntää ja et mitä sitä koittaa nyt sanoo, kielioppiasioita sun muita.” (5, male, high CA)

8.1.14. The Conversation Partner's English Proficiency

“Tosi moni mun kavereista on tosi paljon parempii englannissa, eikä mua niitten kaa haittaa... mut sit jos on joku niinku vieraampi ja sit se puhuu parempaa englantia ni sit musta tuntuu vähän epämiellyttävältä. – – Yläasteel ei ollu semmosii, jotka puhuu täydellistä englantia, mut nyt ku siel on ne IB-linjalaiset ni sit on silleen... ‘okei, ehkä nyt en sanokaan tähän väliin yhtään mitään’, – – jos puhuu jonku kanssa joka on tosi hyvä englannis, ni tietää et niinku toinen huomaa tosi paljon virheitä.” (4, female, high CA)

“Mä en oikeen uskalla kauheesti puhua englantia kellekään suomalaiselle, muuta ku ehkä mun pikkusiskolle... – – Jos mä puhun jolleki suomalaiselle englantia ni must tuntuu ku se ois joku juttu jost kilpaillaan, et kuka ymmärtää ja puhuu englantia kaikist parhaiten. – – Mä oon ollu Thaimaassa muutaman kerran ja siel mä oon niinku tosi avoimesti puhunu englantia, koska nekään ei oo niin hirveen

hyvii puhuu englantii... et ei tarvi niinku pelätä et sanois jotain väärin. Mut jos mä puhun jolleki, joka puhuu ihan äidinkielenään englantii, ni kyl mä oon tosi arka ja varovainen.” (3, female, high CA)

“Mun on hankala puhua englantia jonku kanssa joka osaa sitä paremmin, ellei se sit oo joku todella läheinen ihminen, jolle on ihan sama jos mä mokaan... et ne tietää mun tason. – – sillon se on ihan helppoo, vaik jos on joku tukiopetustilanne, mut muuten ei. – – Mut sit jos se toinen puhuu huonommin ku mä, niin se muuttaa tilanteen ihan täysin. Kyl mä sillon uskallan puhua. – – On se paljon helpompaa niinku turvautua, et mä en oo ainoo joka ei oo se täydellinen englannin puhuja.” (1, female, high CA)

“Jos joku tuntematon vaik joutuu mun pariks englannin tunnilla, joku joka osaa englantia huonommin ku minä, ni me voidaan periaatteessa tukee toisiamme, tai ainaki mä koen et mä pystyn. – – Mä oon kerran joutunu sellasen pariks joka oli niinku sitä mieltä että hän vois jättää kokonaan englannin opiskelun väliin, koska hän on niin hirveän hyvä... se suhtautuu koko juttuun silleen ylimielisesti. Semmosen kaa on tosi vaikee työskennellä, aika hirveetä.” (3, female, high CA)

“Monet sanoo et mä oon tosi hyvä puhuu englantii ja et mul on vähän jenkkiaksentti ja silleen... – – mut oon vähän kömpelö esimerkiks mun kaverin amerikkalaisen poikakaverin seurassa, ku mä tiän et se on tosi hyvä puhumaan. – – Mä pelkään et nyt se kritisoi vaik mä tiän et se ei oikeesti kritisoi.” (9, female, low CA)

“Ku puhun englantia tuntemattomille ihmisille, jotka puhuu sitä paremmin, ni [pelkään et ne ajattelee että] mä oon hirveen huono... jotkut ihmiset vaan on tommosii. Niistä on naurettavaa et joku osaa huonosti englantia. – – Mun ikästen parissa se on perustaito, vähän niinku et sä et osais lukee jos sä et osaa kunnol englantii. – – Se tulee aika paljon siitä että mun kaikki sisarukset osaa niin hyvin englantia ja ne on tosi paljon kiusannu mua siitä... – – Mä oon aika raskaasti sen ottanu sillon joskus, ja siitä on jääny sellanen arpi tavallaan. Must niinku tuntuu et jos mä sanon jotain kauheen väärin, nii sit ajatellaan – – tai mä niinku pelkään et se on tönkkö... ja sit siit tulee vähän tönkkö ehkä.” (3, female, high CA)

“Kavereiden kanssa mä en tavallaan arastele puhua englantia riippumatta siitä, miten hyvii ne on siinä. – – Mul on yks sellanen kaveri, jonka kaa mä oon hyvin paljon enkun kurseilla, se on mua siis paljon parempi, mut sen kaa on jotenki niin hauska opiskella ku se jotenki ymmärtää tän mun arkuuden englannin suhteen.” (3, female, high CA)

“Jos se toinen on tutu niin mua ei haittaa jos se puhuu parempaa englantii... mut tuntemattomien kanssa mua hävettää. – – Sitä pelkää et välittää jotenki huonon kuvan itsestään ku ei osaa puhuu... ja siks mä just toivon et se toinen ois vähän huonompi ku ite – – tulee jotenki semmonen luuseriolo jos toinen osaa paremmin ja sit itse koko aika takeltelee sillai.” (6, female, high CA)

”On paljon helpompi puhuu englantia jolleki joka puhuu sitä äidinkielenä ku sellaselle joka puhuu suomea. Suomalaiset jotenki kritisoi ja moittii herkemmin, mut natiivit ymmärtää et se kieli ei oo täydellistä”. (8, female, low CA)

“Jos mä suomalaisen kans harjottelen puhuu englantii ni sillon mä mietin sitä aika paljon. Mut jos mä pääsen natiivin kaa puhuu ni sit mä yleensä rentoudun... mä aattelen et kyl se ihan varmaan ymmärtää vaik siel ois jotain virheitä... oikeestaan must tuntuu et mä puhun kyl paremmin just sillon. Sitä kieltä ei tarvi ajatella niin paljon.” (11, male, low CA)

8.1.15. Task Features: Time for Preparation

“Jos nyt äkkii käsketään puhuu englantii – – ni sit mä oon sillee ”ääähhh!”...se ei vaan tuu sillee sujuvasti jos käsketään tekeen sillai. – – Mä meen vaan ihan lukkoon. – – On kauheet paineet just onnistua ja sit se ei vaan onnistu, se on vähän niinku noidankehä.” (2, female, high CA)

“Mä viittaaan enkun tunneilla vain sillon ku mä tiedän jotain varmasti ja osaan oikein sen sanoo. – – Mä usein mietin valmiiks, vaik jos mä aion johonki vastata, niin mä usein mietin päässäni et miten mä aion sen sanoo ja toistan sitä koko ajan päässäni et sit varmasti menee hyvin – – koska mä en haluu tehdä virheit ja tulla nolatuks ku se opettaja alkaa korjaileen.” (6, female, high CA)

8.1.16. Task Features: Duration, Size of Audience and Degree of Attention

“Joo siis englanninkielisen tekstin lukeminen kaikille on ahdistavaa, – – varsinki jos istuu jossain luokan etuosassa, silleen et kaikki muut näkee takarivistä sut ku sä luet siinä, ja sä tiedostat sen niinku siinä lukiessas et kaikki saattaa kattoo sua.” (5, male, high CA)

“Se on yleensäki se et kaikki kuuntelee ku mä luen sitä tekstiä ja äännän sitä. Kyl mä tiedän et mä osaan ihan hyvin, mut se vaan ahdistaa. – – Mä pystyn ihan hyvin vastaamaan jos opettaja kysyy vaik vastauksen johonki lyhyeseen käännöslauseeseen jonka mä oon kirjottanu ylös, mä voin viittaa ja sanoo sen, – – mut just sellanen et jos mun pitäis lukee joku kauheen pitkä rimpsu niin se ahdistus silleen kerääntyy, ku joutuu oleen siinä tilanteessa liian kauan. Yleensä [mun lukeminen] tulee sit niinku kiireisemmäksi et mä haluan päästä siitä tilanteesta mahdollisimman nopsaa pois – – et mä en välitä enää mistään niinku äänenpainoista tai mistään, mä vaan luen, ja sit mä oon helpottunu ku se on ohi.” (2, female, high CA)

8.2.1. Presentations or Speeches with or without Notes

“Se ope arvostelee sitä koko aika... se on ahdistavaa. – – Ja sit just kaikkeen kiinnitetään huomioo ku on yksin luokan edessä, et siel ei niinku keskitytä muuhun ku vaan suhun ku sä oot siellä – – just kaikkiin pieniin asioihin, ääntämiin ja muuhun kiinnitetään huomioo. – – Meillä oli jotkut esitelmät kerran pienryhmissä ja niiden kaa ei ollu sillei mitään ongelmaa.” (8, female, low CA)

“Just se et on niinku muiden arvosteltavana tietys mieles – – totta kai mä teen virheitä ja ihmiset huomaa – – jos joku muu pitää esitelmää ni en mä niinku mitenkään tyrmää sitä mistään virheestä et nyt se on huono – – mut must vaan tuntuu et tosi monel on semmost vaan niinku esiintymiskammoo, siellä on se arvostelun kohde ja se joka on yksin siellä. – Tietyl taval se on niinku itensä näyttämistä muille... että sä antaudut siihen tilanteeseen, sä oot nyt täs kaikkien edessä ja oot niinku oma ittes... on aika paljas olo semmosis tilanteissa.” (7, female, low CA)

“Kyl mä esitelmist tykkään, mut jos pitää puhuu niis englantii niin – – must tuntuu et mua niinku arvioidaan ja vertaillaan... ja se tuntuu hyvin ahdistavalta. – – Musta tuntuu niin ku mä oisin painostuksen ja jonku ympyrän keskellä hirveessä tuijotuksessa hyvin yksin tavallaan.” (3, female, high CA)

“Mä aattelen et kaikki kuuntelee sitä ja virheet kuulostaa just vähän isommilta ku jossain normaalis puheessa.” (11, male, low CA)

“En mä esiintymistä pelkää, mut kyl mul tulee semmonen pieni lisäjännitys sillon ku englantii joutuu sinne luokan eteen puhumaan... ei mua niinku jossain äidinkielessä jännitä yhtään oikeestaan mennä sinne luokan eteen mut – – englannissa siinä tulee pieniä lisä siihen.” (11, male, low CA)

“Äidinkieles musta on ihan sikahauskaa pitää puheita. Mua ei ikinä pelota olla missään näytelmis tai pitää puhetta luokan edessä tai esitellä mitään kirjaa, mun mielest se on vaan tosi hauskaa. Mul ei oo mitään esiintymiskammoo todellakaan. Mut sit englannis, en mä tiä, se on ehkä se opettajan katse joka tulee sieltä – – siin on varmaan se et pelkää et mokaa, sit alkaa kelaa, sit alkaa punastuun ja sit on sillei ‘eeei’...” (4, female, high CA)

“Mul menee aika yli se jännittäminen, mä alan ihan voida pahoin ja kaikkee... varsinki englannin kohdalla. Ei mul äidinkielen kohdalla käy tolleen. Kyl mä jännitän, mut en todellakaan saman verran. – Se englannin puhe on vaan koko ajan päässä, et mä en saanu yhtään rauhaa niinku ajatuksien kaa.” (1, female, high CA)

“Mä muistan tämmösii [esitelmä]tilanteita et on joku sana unohtunu, sit mä oon saattanu jättää siit vaan sen jutun sanomatta... et sit ei yleensä tuu yhtään mitään muuta mieleen et miten sen vois ilmaista...”

vasta jälkeenpäin sitä uskaltaa alkaa ajatella et ‘ainii sen ois voinu sanoo noin’... mut siin jännittää niin paljon et aivot ei vaan toimi.” (8, female, low CA)

“Ku sen näkee sen ison yleisön siinä niin tulee semmonen jännittynyt olo, ja sitä keskittyy niinku enemmän sitte just niihin katsojiin ja unohtaa aika helposti sen mitä puhuu... Ja sit tulee niit taukoja, koittaa niinku elvyttää sitä tilannetta ja jatkaa siitä mihin jäi... mut sit tuntuu jotenki et saattaa tulla vähän enemmänki niit mokii sit sitä kautta et... – – ku on jo sinänsä se vaikeus siinä, et pitäis esiintyä niille kaikille ihmisille, ni sit ku pitäis viel miettii siin samalla et mitä puhuu ja miten lausuu sanat ja... koittaa muistaa kaikki, vaik onki käyny ne etukäteen läpi päässä ja lukenu monesti läpi muistiinpanot.” (5, male, high CA)

“Ne englannin esitelmät on just [siks niin ahdistavia] ku se ei oo äidinkieli.” (6, female, high CA)

“Esitelmät pitää aina muistaa ulkoa. Siitä saa miinuksii jos on lunttilappu. Sit siel on väkisinki jotain vaikeempii sanoja ja sellasia mitä ei oo kuullu – – on se enkuks paljon vaikeempaa, se muistaminen ja niiden sanojen käyttö mitkä on sitä esitelmää suunniteltaessa... ja sit ne niinku ei välttämättä muistu yhtään mieleen, ja sit se puhe takeltelee tosi paljon.” (8, female, low CA)

“Meille sanottiin et se pitäis tehdä ilman muistiinpanoja – – oishan se ollu paljon helpompi lukee niist muistiinpanoista suoraan ja turvautua niihin sen sijaan, et mun pitää pitää joku viiden minuutin puhe ilman muistiinpanoja. Se alko tuntua ylivoimaselta seistä siel luokan edessä... mä meen ihan lukkoon ja ku ei oo mitään mihin turvautua, niit lappusii.” (1, female, high CA)

“Meidän ois pitäny pitää englannissa puhe mut mä kieltäydyin, koska mä en – – se ois ollu vaan pienelle ryhmälle, mut se on mulle vaan niin ahdistava tilanne. – – Mä sanoin vaan et mä en pidä tätä et täs on tää, mut mä kieltäydyn puhumasta sitä... se ei ilmeisesti sit kauheesti haitannu. – – Sen takii mä en uskalla tenttii noit kursei, koska jos tenttii ni siel pitää pitää puhe tai esitelmä siel luokan edes et pitää vaan puhuu englanniks, et sen takii mä en uskalla tenttii niit koska mun pitäs pitää se.” (2, female, high CA)

8.2.3. Pair or Group Debates with the Class as Audience

“Pareittain siinä on vaan se yks henkilö joka saa tietää et mä oon huono, mut ryhmässä enempi ihmisii saa tietää et mä oon tosi surkee täs kieles – – ja se on noloa.” (6, female, high CA)

8.2.4. Expressing Thoughts and Ideas to the Whole Class

“Englanniks on se ku ikinä ei saa sitä tarkotusta perille ku pitää kiertää niin paljon... mut kyllä suomeks sujuu. – – Ku mul on ajatuksii niinku miljoona, ja sit mä osaan sanoo niist englanniks kunnol vaan kaks. – – Hirveen epävarma [olo siinä tulee], ku ei oikeen tiedä et miten se tulee ulos se lause, et tuleeko se hyvin vai tuleeko se huonosti.” (4, female, high CA)

8.2.5. Answering to Questions Involuntarily

“Ope yrittää sellasta yhteistä keskustelua saada aikaseks, ja välil se teki vaan silleen et ‘How about you?’, kysy vaan joltain, ja sit mä oon taas siel sillei et ‘Älä vaan kysy multa mitään’, – – ku en mä, en mä niinku voi vaan, sit se on mulle ihan kauhee tilanne et mun pitäs vaan luokan edes äkkii sanoo jotain... mä en jotenki oo hyvä siinä yhtään. Tulee kauheet suorituspainet. Ja sit se ei vaan onnistu, se on vähän niinku noidankehä. – – Mä oon sellanen tietty perfektionisti sen kaa et ku se [kysymys] tulee ja siihen ei oo valmistautunu, ja sit pitäs sanoo jotain... aivot käy äkkii läpi parhaan vaihtoehdon, tai yrittää ettii sitä, ni sit menee ihan lukkoon. – – Ja sit mä oon vaan ‘ää, mm, öö’, ei tuu mitään ulos. Tulee just se paniikki et pitäis päästä pois tästä tilanteesta äkkii. Ja sit vaan yrittää äkkii sanoo jotain – – koska pitää päästä pois siit tilanteesta.” (2, female, high CA)

“Yleensä siin on ollu tauko et millon on viimeks puhunu englantii, ni sit ei vaan tuu ne sanat sillei hyvin... et ku on vaan kuitenkin joutunu kuunteleen... ku yleensä sil tunnilla ei oo silleen ehtiny puhun kauheesti ennen noit tilanteita. Sitten jos alkaa tulee kyselyitä ympäri luokkaa, ope napsii sieltä jotain, ni sit mä yritän miettii sen vastauksen aina etukäteen. Mut sit jos yhtäkkiä vaan pommitetaan jollain kysymyksel ni sit on aina sillei et ‘nii mitä se ees on suomeks mitä sä kysyt’... ei oo vaan yhtään valmistautunu.” (8, female, low CA)

“Joskus ne tilanteet tulee niin yllättäen – ja ei välttämät tiä edes siitä asiasta kauheen paljoa, sit pitää alkaa sitä kysyttyä asiaa miettimään samaan aikaan ku koittaa käydä päässä läpi et miten sitä alkaa puhumaan ja mitä puhuis. Siinä tulee semmonen vaikee tilanne.” (5, male, high CA)

“Se on se ku ei ehi ollenkaan miettii sitä vastausta... ni sit se tasoki on just sen mukana. – – Kyl mä mietin suurimmaks osaks vastaukset etukäteen – – et tulis parempaa englantia .”(4, female, high CA)

“Mä itse asiassa enemmän tykkään siitä et maikka pyytää vastamaan johonkin... vaik et suomenna toi tai käännä toi. Jotenki tulee sellanen olo et se maikka uskoo et mä pystyisin siihen, ja just kans se, että jos mä mokaan, ni sit se on tavallaan hyväksyttävämpää kuin se et mä viittaa ja suomennan ja mokaan. – – Se tuntuu vaan hyvältä tavallaan.” (3, female, high CA)

9.2. Implications for Teaching and Suggestions for Further Research

“Se on jännä kuitenkin et kuinka turhaa käytännös jännittää sitä englannin puhumista että... ku jos miettii et joku muu on mokannu ja sit sä pelkää ite et sä mokaat ja että kaikki muistaa sit sen ainaki. Mutta mietitsä jotain asioita mitä joku on mokannu joskus? Se on niinku se fiilis viistoist minuutii niin kukaan ei muista sitä ollenkaan.” (11, male, low CA)